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Strategies for the education of youth in detention in the United States and Great Britain.

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STRATEGIES FOR THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH IN DETENTION IN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN

A Dissertation Presented

By

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Strategies for the Education of Youth in Detention in the United States and Great Britain

(February 1976)

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This study examines the education of juvenile delinquents who have been incarcerated in the United States and Great Britain. Drawing from historical and contemporary materials in the two countries, it presents an analysis of trends in juvenile corrections and proposes a new semantic and curricular basis for those working in the field.

The historical material from Great Britain shows how the effects of institutionalization on youth incrisis have remained constant despite programmatic variations within the institutions themselves. Theories of correction and remediation have come and gone within the walls without appreciably altering the disposition or environment of the young persons. Attempts to alter this histor-

ical pattern have been made in both Great Britain and the United States.

In Great Britain, the statutory support of reformatories was removed by the Children and Young Persons Act of 1969 and the responsibility for remedial care was returned to the local community of the young offender. An examination of the effects of this change shows that effective alternative services within the communities have yet to be provided. However, the cycle of institutionalization and recidivism has been interrupted and with the provision of adequate resources may well be permanently broken.

In the United States, the lack of a national system of juvenile corrections has prevented such a comprehensive step. Innovation is proceeding on a state by state and institution by institution basis. One institution, a detention center in the state of Massachusetts, provides the focus for an American attempt at a new approach to the problem of education for juvenile delinquents. A theory is developed whereby delinquency is seen as the combined, systematic dysfunction of social structures. Some young persons development is differentiated by parental income and individual learning styles. Their motivation to achieve goals and aspirations lawfully is

suppressed. They are labelled with semantic terms which misrepresent the nature of the dysfunction.

In an effort to counter the historical and contemporary processes of exclusion and of oppression, a curriculum is proposed for short term use in detention centers. With the view that long term institutions are inherently inimical to effective education, a self-directed curriculum is presented for short term use. This curriculum is self-directed to counterbalance the oppressive nature of the detention center and to motivate the students.

Such a curriculum has been effective within the context of the detention center. A combination of this curriculum with the larger trend to community treatment and decreased emphasis on the labelling of delinquents is a first step to ending the high incidence of juvenile crime.

To no other institution of learning in the world do so many postgraduates return for advanced instruction as to those colleges of crime which a still unenlightened civilization has erected for a quite different purpose.

Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1936

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATION AND DELINQUENCY

This study investigates the education of juvenile delinquents who have been incarcerated. There is a significant number of young persons in the United States and Great Britain who have been taken out of the normal school population and placed in detention following arrest on a criminal charge.[1] As statutes for universal compulsory education are in effect in both countries, curricula for these students must be provided. The intention of this research is to develop guidelines for the design of such curricula and to give teachers in the field a perspective on their own position in the evolution of penology.

An examination of the history of juvenile corrections presents the parallel development of two features. The first is the changing of teaching methods and curriculum design in reformatories corresponding to changes in larger social and political attitudes. The second feature is the uniformity of the young persons' negative responses to these seemingly varied approaches.

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[1]Leslie T. Wilkins, Delinquent Generations, Home Office Research Unit Report (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970), p. 9.

This negative response is one of the central problems in juvenile corrections today.

Since the industrial revolution, a variety of methods and institutions has been developed for the education of delinquents. None has showed consistent success in motivating the students in question. The students have showed little enthusiasm for their own education and have developed decoding skills at a slower rate than normal school populations.[2] They do not see education as relevant to their lives. Juvenile crime and recidivism rates continue to rise.[3]

Contemporary reports have even indicated a marked increase in juvenile crime in both countries despite record public expenditure in all areas of corrections; police, courts, educational services, social services. In addition, contemporary teachers and administrators have commented on the hostility expressed towards them by their students and on their students' disinterest in education. Most young persons who are arrested have very poor school records, express frustration with the curricula,

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[2] Standards of Literacy and Numeracy in Adult and Young Offenders, Home Office Research Unit Report (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1974), p.22.

[3] Juvenile Court Statistics, 1970, Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development Report (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1970).

express little faith in its relevance to their lives. In detention centers, where the majority of arrested youth are held prior to trial and placement, the frustration and rejection are particularly noticeable. There is a high turnover in youth. Further, the legal situation of young persons in detention centers poses a problem. While a small minority of the population of a detention center has been convicted of an offense and is incarcerated pending placement or the hearing of an appeal, the large majority is as yet untried for the offense in question and are therefore innocent. To prescribe elaborate remedial curricula on the assumption of a criminality to be remedied is therefore legally premature. The focus must be on the students' general attitude to education and not on a specific moral or psychological dysfunction that has yet to be proved in a court of law.

In view of these considerations, this study examines historical and contemporary material to determine which elements in the curricula and programs designed for juveniles have failed to change and have been criminogenic. Preliminary considerations for the design of new curricula and a new perspective for teachers who will use this curricula are developed. This research also defines which aspects of the delin-

quents environment education can realistically expect to remediate. This attempt grew from the following sources; historical records and documents, a library search, interviews, participant observation, questionnaires.

Research Procedure

The first reform school for juvenile delinquents in Great Britain opened in 1788. An examination of the reform schools' history from that date sought to include relevant material in the form of commissioners' reports, teachers' observations, test results, court dispositions, and young persons' recorded statements. These were examined in Great Britain with the cooperation of the Home Office Research Unit. The reports of individual reform school managers, such as of the Philanthropic Society, were examined at the Cambridge University Institute of Criminology and the Exeter University Institute of Education.

Reform schools came under the administration of the Home Office in 1899. Therefore Britain provides an example of an industrialized western society which attempted a comprehensive national approach to juvenile corrections, as compared with the United States where the problem has been approached on a state by state basis.

Meticulous records were kept by the Home Office from 1899 to the removal of Home Office jurisdiction in 1969.

Materials on educational programs after 1969 have been drawn from the files of individual institutions mentioned and the published reports of the Department of Social Services which took over the administration of juvenile corrections from the Home Office.

A library search at both the Cambridge University library (chosen because of the unique Institute of Criminology there) and Exeter University provided information from several persons who had observed the evolution of delinquent education from outside the aegis of the Home Office or the authorities directly concerned.

Little academic research has taken place in Great Britain on the specific problem of curricula in detention centers, although many researchers have addressed themselves to the problem of education in the now discredited reform or approved schools. Their evidence and observations presented the deficiencies in many aspects of the education of young offenders. The practical innovations suggested in this research

reflect an attempt to clarify and resolve these historical inadequacies. Interviews were conducted with persons immediately involved in all aspects of juvenile corrections. The author's participant observation and administration of questionnaires elicited suggestions for innovations.

The interviews were conducted with persons from most branches of corrections. References are made in the text to these interviews and selected ones have been reproduced in the Appendices. In the interviews with magistrates, social workers, and teachers in corrections, the primary objective was the collecting of opinions. The focused subject was the effectiveness of education, legislation, and compensatory programs for juvenile delinquents. In the interviews with delinquents themselves, the focused subject was the effectiveness of treatment programs and the perceived relevance of curricula.

The interviews took place following a short contact with the subject and they were not repeated. They were single hour interviews and were recorded by cassette tape machine. Questions were designed by the author to explore the informant's opinion of the effectiveness of curricula and relevant legislation. The informants may

have been influenced by the desire to create a good impression, but the tone of confidentiality was always noted and, in the case of the British interviews, the author's nationality was perceived to be an influence on the side of candor.

Participant observation was a further source of information. The author was Head Teacher at the Westfield Detention Center, Westfield, Massachusetts from 1970 to 1972 with responsibility for curriculum development, classroom instruction, and evaluation. Materials from that period are reproduced in Appendix B. The author was also employed as a special tutor for delinquent youth by the Cornwall County Council (Great Britain) Department of Social Services from 1973 to 1974.

Questionnaires were given to young persons in detention centers in the United States and Great Britain. The questionnaires were developed by the author. They were primarily depth questionnaires asking for the young persons' opinion of the curriculum, materials, and staff of institutions that they had experienced. The questionnaires were completed in the presence of the author and included closed and free responses. The author made an attempt to motivate more sincere participation by giving a brief oral explanation of the purpose of the research prior to the informants' filling in of the questionnaire.

It was explained that the individual forms would be entirely confidential and that the informant would not be obliged to give his or her name or answer any questions that were thought too intrusive. The author read aloud any parts that the informant could not read but did not paraphrase or interpret any questions.

Limitations

Delinquency, as a social phenomenon, has been widely documented as a function of poverty, disenfranchisement, and adolescence. These quite broad problems in the human experience require broad solutions. The first limitation of this study is that proposals included are not intended to be corrective on their own. The curricula and attitudes must be seen as but one aspect of a remedial program which includes political, economic, and social action.

The majority of this research has been an attempt to analyze historical data in order to provide direction for the creation of effective contemporary curricula. The historical analysis has intentionally been broad and eclectic in scope. However, the proposals which have emanated from that analysis are for a specific area of corrections, for detention centers.

This focus on detention centers themselves was made because long term institutions for delinquents are being

drastically reduced in Great Britain and the United States. They are being replaced by community treatment homes and similar services. It is therefore likely that the only widespread secure institution for the placement of delinquent youth in the future will be the detention center which the community and young person often require for mutual protection during a brief but traumatic interval. Long term institutions, often regardless of the size and disposition of staff, cannot present a therapeutic behavior model identical to broader social life.[4] In the context of relative returns, such institutions present too many inherent obstacles to make extensive provision for them worthwhile.

A third limitation is the lack of a clearly defined control group for the testing of hypotheses or proposed curricula. The young offenders in juvenile reformatories do not include all young persons who repeatedly commit crimes. The ability of parents to pay bail or legal fees is a determinant of the population of reformatories and detention centers alike. A control group would thus be more of a control group for economic selection than remedial education. Also, the particularly high and rapid turnover in the population of a detention center pre-

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[4]J. Harris, Crisis in Corrections (New York: McGraw Hill, 1973).

cludes longitudinal analysis of effects on a control group.

A fourth limitation, specifically on the curricula, is that young persons in detention centers are not in an emotional state to undertake extended developmental programs of study. Having been removed from family, peers, and community, placed in a completely restrictive and impersonal environment, facing an uncertain future and an imminent court appearance, young offenders cannot be expected to participate in highly programmed or structured learning.[5] As the students come from a variety of school and academic backgrounds, severe limitations are also placed on any form of group instruction.

Given these limitations, the historical and contemporary data provided evidence of successes and failures in the education of juvenile delinquents. Such evidence can relate to issues beyond the scope of these limitations and this research. The section "Suggestions for Further Research" presents such possible applications in Chapter Five.

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[5]E. Gibson, "Early Delinquency in Relation to Broken Homes," British Journal of the Child Psychological and Psychiatric Association Vol. 2, No. 2 (1969).

Definition of Terms

Approved school. A British institution for the long term care and education of young offenders. These institutions were all originally private or denominational but received at some stage in their development government funding, support, referrals. In return for the support, the government established criteria for the "approval" of these schools and hence their name.

Assessment center. A contemporary British institution whose functions are the diagnosis and testing of young persons referred by the court. An assessment center, differing from other institutions in the correctional field, may also take referrals from child guidance authorities and the schools in addition to young persons who have been arrested. Security is less an overriding consideration. The average stay is one to two weeks, with some young persons coming on a day referral basis only.

Corrections. This is a generic term for the processes of sentencing, diagnostic testing, remediation, counseling, and the incarceration of offenders following conviction.

Criminogenic. This refers to any specific or generalized conditions which lead to the committing of illegal acts. If MacIver's analysis of multiple causation in social

phenomena is accepted, the totality of an environment can be said to be directly causative of crime (criminogenic) by the degree to which it allows individuals within it few behavioral options except breaking the law.[6]

Detention. This term refers to the holding of a young person between the ages of seven and seventeen in a building under lock and key, usually prior to an arraignment or trial.

Institution. In the context of this research, institution refers to a building where persons are placed under lock and key and detained until the end of a prescribed sentence or further disposition by the court.

Local authority. This is a British municipal or county government body responsible for the administration of social, educational, and community services. Following the Children and Young Persons Act of 1969, local authorities became responsible for the treatment and education of young offenders.

Magistrate. A magistrate is a British lay judge. Many civil, minor, and juvenile offenses in Britain are dealt with in Magistrate's Court by persons with legal knowledge and impartiality, but without the formal training and qualifications of a judge.

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[6]R. MacIver, "Social Causation," The Sociology of Crime and Delinquency, ed. W. Savitz (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).

Recidivism. This term refers to the subsequent committing of an offense by a released convict and his or her return to a correctional institution. The recidivism rate is commonly used as an index of the success of remedial programs within institutions.

Reform school. This is a generic term for secure institutions for the placement of delinquent youth. Reform in this context includes the detention, assessment, remedial, and punitive functions of juvenile corrections.

Review of the Literature

Little previous research was found to focus on short term curricula for juvenile detention facilities. In determining which works concerned with the long term education of young offenders were relevant, a distinction was made. Curricula and methods designed for open educational programs, such as found in community based treatment schemes, were separated from curricula designed for large institutions run by the state. Of the writers who concerned themselves with long term curricula and methods in secure institutions, people such as Dunlop, Graubard, Howard, and Scacco, it can now be said that the

relevance of their work has diminished.[7] The treatment of juvenile delinquents, in both the United States and Great Britain, is now moving in theory and practice quite markedly away from such institutions to small, open, community based services and educational models. The reasons for this move, the failure of the reformatories to either reduce recidivism or motivate the young offenders to develop socially acceptable patterns of behavior and goal achievement, have been studied by others, particularly in Massachusetts by such writers as L. Dye in Juvenile Junk-Yards.[8]

However, those who have concerned themselves with the question of education of delinquents outside the confines and limitations of secure institutions have contributed to the shaping of this research. Hirschi's The Causes of Delinquency and Fleisher's The Economics of Delinquency are two works which helped define the basic perameters of this research and set the question of delin-

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[7]A.B. Dunlop, The Approved School Experience (London: H.M.S.O., 1974); P.S. Graubard, Children Against Schools: Education of the Delinquent (Chicago: Follett Press, 1970); D.L. Howard, The Education of Offenders (Cambridge, England: The Cambridge University Press, 1970); A. Scacco, "The Role of the Corrections Teacher in Juvenile Rehabilitation" (Ed. D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1973).

[8]L. Dye, "Juvenile Junkyards" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, 1973).

quency causation in a social rather than individual context.[9] Particularly Fleisher's work, and that of E.M. Harrower, cast light upon the effects of parental income and family finance on delinquency.[10] The British Government's Advisory Council on the Penal System has attempted to direct research away from the traditional concerns of individual personality dysfunction and its remediation in closed institutions towards an approach which makes socio-economic considerations central to the correctional process.[11]

In Graubard's work Children Against Schools, the problem of motivation within the institutional setting was discussed. It was observed that conflict between the school's curricula and the offender's intersts impedes the translation of that interest into motivation and hence of motivation to application and vocation. The work centered, however, on the role of the teacher in resolving that conflict. The omission of the student as an active participant in such change has been cited as a crucial factor by J.E. Baker in The Right to Participate: Inmate Involvement in

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[9]T. Hirschi, Causes of Delinquency (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971); B.M. Fleisher, The Economics of Delinquency (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966).

[10]E.M. Harrower, "Who Comes to Court?" American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 25: (1955) 15.

[11]"Advisory Council on the Penal System: Young Offenders," Report No.2 (London: H.M.S.O. 1974).

Prison Administration.[12] Y. Bakal's Closing Correctional Institutions; New Strategies for Youth Services has given broad outlines for the rejection of the institutional model and its replacement by more open teaching methods which are closely integrated with the young persons' demonstrated interests, home environment, and the problems faced therein.[13]

The direction which has therefore emerged in juvenile corrections has been one away from restrictive institutional education. The large majority of young offenders in Great Britain who are of school age are continuing their education in public schools where practicable while receiving assistance in ameliorating the social, economic, and environmental problems which led them into crime. A similar trend is in operation in the United States although the elimination of reformatories is proceeding on a state by state rather than national basis.

However, detention is still a part of the correctional process for which educational provisions must be made. The purpose of this research is to examine the evolution of correctional education in order to develop perspectives for such provisions. The critical literature has determined that

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[12]J.E. Baker, The Right to Participation: Inmate Involvement in Prison Administration (New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1974).

[13]Y.Bakal, Closing Correctional Institutions (Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1973).

the provisions follow the contemporary trend to a generalized, child-centered approach.

Chapter II presents the historical development of the education of delinquents in Great Britain. It begins with the opening of the first reformatory for young offenders and follows the evolution of penology to the contemporary closing of such institutions and the return, in terms of classification, of young offenders to the wider group of 'children in need of care.'

Chapter III examines a specifically American attempt to change the nature of the correctional process. At the Westfield Detention Center, the author and young persons in residence replaced a traditional regime with a more child-centered curriculum.

In Chapter IV, theoretical and semantic considerations help to shape a new perspective for the teacher in juvenile corrections and provide him, or her, with practical suggestions based on the new perspective. Chapter V includes a brief summary of the study with suggestions for further research.

C H A P T E R II

PERSPECTIVES FROM BRITISH JUVENILE CORRECTIONS

Education in British Juvenile Institutions from 1788 to 1969

In order to determine which areas of British juvenile corrections have historically failed or succeeded in altering the behavior and motivation of young offenders, the following examination of materials was made. Documentation of the types of curricula offered to juveniles, the disposition of their teachers, and the plans of reform school managers were examined. The vast majority of recorded evidence consisted of personal reports written by government and lay inspectors attributing the continuation of delinquency as a social phenomenon to character defects in the young offenders themselves. The educational programs for delinquent youth in Great Britain evolved in a context of individual morality.

From the early Victorian to the twentieth century reformers, delinquency was mainly regarded as a function of incomplete moral instruction and social class. Young offenders were regarded as the wretched of

the earth for whom Christian compassion and remedial tuition were appropriate. That the young offenders themselves might be able to articulate even a part of the problem is discounted by the almost complete lack of any testimony by them. If they were ever consulted about what might help or change them, their opinions were never recorded. They were regarded, from a certain distance, with a mixture of abhorence and pity. the following passage from the work of Mary Carpenter characterized the nineteenth century conception of the nature and remedial needs of delinquent youth.

> Of those who have already received the prison brand, or, if the mark has not yet visibly set upon them, are notoriously living by plunder, who unblishingly acknowledge that they can gain no more for the support of themselves and their parents by stealing than by working, whose hand is against every man, for they know not that any man is their brother, these form the dangerous classes. Look at them in the streets, where, to the eye of the worldly man, they will all appear as the scum of the populace, fit only to be swept as vermin from the face of the earth. See them in their homes, if such they have, squalid, filthy, vicious, or pining and wretched with none to help, destined only, it would seem, to be carried off by some benificent pestilence, and you have no hesitation in acknowledging that these are indeed dangerous and perishing classes. Behold them when the hand of wisdom and of love has shown them a better way and purified and softened their outward demeanor and their inner spirit, in schools well adapted to themselves, and you hardly believe them to be separated by any distinct boundary from the children who frequent the National and British schools. Yet there is, and will long be, a very strongly defined line of separation between them, and which requires perfectly distinct machinery and modes of operation in

practice. There must certainly be special ways of dealing with them.[1]

Prisons had existed in Britain for several centuries, prisons in which everyone from murderer to debtor to deserter to destitute child was incarcerated. All such persons were regarded as criminal and were given identical treatment.[2]

The Marine Society of Great Britain was the first group to record an objection to this practice. The group was one of concerned individuals who had a loosely defined, primarily compassionate, set of proposals for dealing with wayward youth.[3] The Society did not establish an institution but did call for the removal of young offenders from the prison population.

The Magdalen Hospital, established by Jonas Hanway in 1758,could be regarded as an institution for what today might be called delinquent girls. As it was established exclusively for sexually wayward girls, it did not fall into the category of institutions for legally convicted youth. Most of its staff were members

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[1]Mary Carpenter, Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes (London: Woburn Press, 1968), p. 42.

[2]Sir E. Ruggles-Brise, The English Prison System (London: Macmillan, 1921), p. 18.

[3]Mary Hopkirk, Nobody Wanted Sam (London: Heinemann & Co., 1949), p. 18.

of the clergy.[4]

On 5 September, 1788, Robert Young of the Marine Society called a meeting at his house in London to discuss the plight of the vagrant and destitute children who abounded in the city. The kind of children this meeting was concerned with can be illustrated by examples from a later register of the Society.[5]

Boy 12 .... No father, mother partly begs and sells matches, boy found starved and naked.
Boy 7 .... Found almost starved, not knowing where he belongs.
Boy 8 .... Mother beat him, left him for dead, found by workman and adopted, then taught to steal by thieves.
Boy 9 .... Father transported, mother used to let boy to a woman for begging.
Girl 12 ... Father dead, mother common prostitute, now dead, girl in state of poverty and wretchedness.
Girl 14 ... Mother transported, girl taken from a house of ill fame.
Girl 9 ... Mother dead, father transported for robbery.

To offer help to such children, the Society decided to form an organization to be called the "New Asylum for the Prevention of Vice and Misery Among the Poor." Young was appointed "Intendant" and the Marquis of Carmathen

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[4]Julius Carlebach, Caring for Children in Trouble (London: Heinemass & Co., 1949), p. 4.

[5]Great Britain, The University of Exeter Library, "Proceedings of the Philanthropic Society, 1788," abstract 01 from the Surrey County Archivist, 1973.

elected "President."[6] The group also decided that if any building were to be put up for the care of such children that there should be no surrounding walls in order to make a clear distinction between an "asylum" and a "prison."[7] Money was to be collected from the public.

From the City of London, the Society acquired some property at St. George's Fields, Southwark and in 1792 an institution was opened there. Dormitories and workshops were set up with provisions for teaching tailoring, shoemaking, printing, bookbinding, and rope-making -- indeed one of the earliest recorded examples of curriculum for juvenile delinquents. Admission was restricted to two classes of children; those who were offspring of felons (and therefore with usually one or both parents imprisoned) and those who had committed a crime themselves. Both convicted and innocent children were viewed as destitute and in need of care.[8]

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[6]J.H. Quick, Essays on Educational Reformers (London: Heinemann & Co., 1898), pp. 278-285.

[7]Ibid, p. 283.

[8]Great Britain, "Proceedings of the Philanthropic Society, 1793," p. 4.

By 1793 the program of the institution had been established and an intake procedure developed. At the annual dinner of the then renamed "Philanthropic" Society in 1793, a demonstration took place which is described in the following account.[9]

> The children in the Society's protection walked in procession around the room, first upwards of thirty girls presented by their mistress. After this, near on one hundred boys, each department led by respective masters, the carpenter, printer, shoemaker, and tailor. The decent appearance and orderly demeanor of the children filled the minds of the spectators with the most pleasant sensation; the natural result of contemplating the happy change which had been wrought in the institution of this numerous little group lately in the high road of crime.

The Society's program consisted of each house having a master and a mistress and forty-five boys, with a basement equipped with kitchen, pantry, wash-house, and cells. The boys acted as apprentices to the masters; those who absconded were taken before a magistrate as "refractory apprentices."[10] Corporal punishment is not mentioned in the early records of the Society but cells were frequently used with bread and water. The question of leave and community sensitiv-

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[9]H.C. Barnard, A History of English Education (London: University of London Press, 1961), p. 23.

[10]Great Britain, "Proceedings of the Philanthropic Society, 1794," Abstract 03, Sub-Committee Report, 9 May, 1794.

ity to the inmates of the institution is touched upon in the following Committee Order dated 13 June, 1794.[11]

> Ordered that the boys be not permitted to go into the country unless the superintendent and master see that they have no weapons as guns, pistols, etc., of any sort and that they behave themselves with the greatest regularity and never enter into any gardens, orchards, pleasure grounds, etc., otherwise this indulgence is to be stopped.

The girls in the institution were sent out at a very young age as menial servants, role stereotyping by sex apparently being a privilege accorded to the destitute as well as the affluent, although the Society was most careful to see that the mistresses of the girls were of the "best character."[12]

The Society attempted in 1794 to obtain government support. In May of that year there was an application before Parliament for the "purpose of constructing a penitentiary house for the reception and employment of such criminals who . . . are not subject to transportation."[13] As the Society's work was directed to the reformation and instruction of criminal and destitute

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[11]Ibid, 19 December, 1794.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid, 9 May, 1794.

children, it was felt that their work would fall within the scheme.[14]

This request was not successful and in December, 1795, a petition was presented to Prime Minister William Pitt calling on the government to assist the Society with financial support.[15] The petition is of interest because it clearly described the function of the Society as seen by its managers.

> The Society exists . . . for the purpose of receiving the destitute infant children of convicts and to rescue them from vice and infamy to which the example and sentence of their parents exposed them and for the reform of such young criminals whose youth gave promise of amendment by impressing on their minds principles of morality and religion and instructing them in useful occupations.

Some of the realities of the society for which these young persons were being reformed were reflected

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[14]Here it may be noted that a cycle was about to be made in correctional policy. The Society's integration of all types of destitute youth was the last step of an almost feudally comprehensive system. The nineteenth and most of the twentieth century were then to see rigid correctional distinctions between convicted and innocent young persons. With the Children and Young Persons Act of 1969 in Great Britain, and some contemporary trends in the United States, a return can now be marked to this original view of all destitute children being in need of care whether convicted or not.

[15]Great Britain, "Proceedings of the Philanthropic Society, 1794," Abstract CO, 16 May, 1794.

in the Dickensian descriptions of the early reformist writers. The following passage is taken from the Philanthropic Society's Register of Admissions and is characteristic of conditions described in other sources.[16]

> Mary Smith, admitted to the Society on 14 December 1792 at the age of nine years, an artful and depraved character. The person under whose protection she had been, having often found it necessary to correct her, died and during the time he was in the coffin, she stole an opportunity, unseen, of getting into the room, uncovered the sheet, and spoke to the corpse in these terms - - "I don't mind you, you can't hurt me now." Of this account we have been assured.

The curriculum that was intended to prepare these destitute young persons for the realities of society was centered primarily on trade training. As the following illustration suggests, its inherent sex role stereotyping was quite pronounced.[17]

> The girls are employed in making and mending their own gowns, doing their own linen and that of the boys, washing of same, the stockings, sheets, and house linen and keeping the house clean, whilst the boys are employed as follows:
> 34 with the shoemaker,
> 20 in the role walk,
> 10 with the tailor,
> 6 in the printing office,
> 3 with the cook,
> 2 at the gates,
> 1 with the steward,
> 4 too young for any employment.

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[16]Ibid, 17 March, 1797.

[17]Ibid.

The only provision for what might be termed academic work was the compulsory evening reading of the Bible. The fate of those unable to read is unrecorded.

From a historical-analytical perspective, the central importance of this early reform school was that it postulated a difference between older, destitute criminal types and younger, destitute criminal types. Previously, a young person apprehended by the police and dealt with by a court of law was put into an adult prison. Penal reformers such as the members of the Philanthropic Society did not have precise behavioral objectives. They did not record or evaluate their methods. The initial, motivating force for the establishment of such institutions was compassion. Beggar children in the London streets, dirty young faces in Wormwood Scrubbs Prison were pathetic, evocative scenes to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century intelligentsia.[18]

The behavioral change, the reform that they envisaged may also be placed in the development of continental philosophy at the time. Montesquieu, in his L'Espirit des Lois, had suggested that criminal

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[18]Barnard, A History of English Education, p. 60.

behavior was a function of the climate acting with differential effect upon the same "natural passions" common to all men.[19] He held the quite influential view that the equatorial climate induced violent criminal behavior while the polar climate brought out drunkenness. He did not say why some men were more naturally passionate than others and therefore more susceptible to the weather. He merely stated that in some men, and it some women it must be assumed, these passions were "closer to the surface." This idea of criminality as a natural phenomenon was in keeping with the doctrine of natural determinism in vogue at the time. Certain people were criminal by their birthright, it was held, and therefore differential treatment, age grading, providing wider opportunities were regarded as pointless.

Quetelet, in his tract on the Termic Law of Crime, went a step further than Montesquieu and developed a statistical matrix of climatic zones which he related to types of crimes most likely to take place in that zone. His work, in addition to the classic physiological typology of the Italian Lombroso, was the first rational

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19Montesquieu, L'Espirit des Lois (New York: Colonial Press, 1899).

analysis of criminal behavior.[20] As analysis though, it was in advance of the early institutions, a dichotomy which has continued to contemporary times. The pre-Victorian reformers were driven by pity to become involved with the "perishing and dangerous classes." It was only once their benignly authoritarian institutions were established and the separation of youth effected that such processes as prediction methodology and statistical recording were begun.

The intention then of early institutions such as the Philanthropic Society and the first Dr. Barnardo's Home was to provide an inherently flawed being with clean clothes, a polite mouth, and a full stomach.[21] Such a being, whether flawed by the climate, the cephalic index, or the cobbled streets of the East End, was the work of God and thus deserving of Christian compassion.

It is noteworthy at this point that the early Victorians thus viewed criminality as an essentially environmental or super-human phenomenon. However, from the middle of the nineteenth century until quite recently in the twentieth century, crime was seen as an

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[20]Quetelet, Termic Law of Crime (Paris: Bachelier, 1869).

[21]Valerie Lloyd, "Methods and Motives of Dr. Barnardo," The Times (London: 18 May 1974), p. 20.

individual matter, either engaged in or not according to the free will of the person. In modern corrections, a return can be discerned to natural determinism, albeit Marxist, whereby one's social birthright is viewed as the primary cause of crime.

However, in the context of the early Victorians evangelism, the individual could achieve limited salvation through personalized instruction. The prototypical program of the Philanthropic Society, described in the Society's report of December, 1841, showed that a more academic program had been organized at the institution.[22] The report referred to the instruction of arithmetic, writing, spelling, and reading (still the Bible). The Reverend Sydney Turner, to be appointed the first Inspector of Reformatory Schools, wrote a personal report to the standing committee of the Society in which he reported that arithmetic and writing were well taught but found the reading deficient.[23] He recommended that a wider range of books be used, an improved system of teaching and examinations be instituted, and provisions be made for the use of visual aids. He subdivided the

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[22]Great Britain. "Proceedings of the Philanthropic Society, 1841," Abstract 10, 1 May 1841.

[23]Julius Carlebach, Caring for Children in Trouble, p. 15.

schoolroom with curtains and organized classes. Reverend Turner proposed two objectives in the education of the children; first to make learning a thing of understanding and second to excite and exercise a taste for reading. To this end in increased the number of books in the library, arguing that,"A taste for reading and a desire for acquiring information is seldom found combined with very low and degrading habits."[24] His other proposals were remarkable as well,considering the times and general ideological context in which he made them. It can only be regretted that he did not institute any sort of method for the evaluation of his proposals.

Turner described the education of the girls as defective in content. House and laundry work, he felt, should be regarded as part of the girls' education. However, he thought that girls would be better prepared for domestic service and marriage if they were also taught to write and given the basic principles of arithmetic. Here is a variation on the theme of reform within an oppressive system, that of rigid class and sexual discrimination. The girls' learning to write and do sums

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[24]Ibid, p. 15. N.B. It is instructive to relate this attitude to that expressed in Chapter IV, page on the relation of reading to juvenile corrections.

was to be superimposed on the basic and apparently irrefutable female functions of domestic service and marriage. Education was therefore seen as a supplement to a pre-destined social function, not as a creator of social function in itself. This theme was a direct antecedent of Herbert Spencer's natural determinism soon to be in intellectual vogue.

By 1850, the views put forth by Mary Carpenter and the pioneering work with distinctly young offenders by the Philanthropic Society had become known throughout Great Britain. The eventual publication of her book, Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and for Juvenile Offenders, in 1851 marked the beginning of the transition from pioneering to a national system under statute.

Industrial schools, as they were then commonly known, had been meeting the function she addressed herself to -- society's organized response to deviation on the part of young persons.[25] The industrial schools were widespread systems and it required legislation to alter their intake procedures and effect, via the courts, a new system for dealing with distinctly young offenders.

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[25]Gordon Rose, Schools for Young Offenders (London: Tavistock Publications, 1967), p.6.

Historically, the industrial schools were primarily workhouses. They were in decline in most areas of Britain in the later years of the eighteenth century and in the early years of the nineteenth century. They had become debtors' prisons for the old and catch-alls for the young. Their regular program was usually an indeterminant sentence to forced labor.[26]

At the direction of James Kay, a pioneer of English education, boards of guardians were given the power to set up district schools as alternatives to the industrial schools.[27] Though humane and compassionate in intention, these were too few in number and too badly organized to become a nationwide network. Children found destitute were simply committed to adult prisons by a magistrate so inclined.[28] The following example from the register of the Metropolitan (London) Police illustrates the power of magistrates for arbitrary committals in comparison with the rights of the young citizens to a trial by jury and, presumably, differential sentencing.[29]

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[26]Ibid, p. 7.

[27]Barnard, A History of English Education, p. 29.

[28]Carpenter, Reformatory Schools, p. 12.

[29]Great Britain, Home Office Archives, Abstract 18, University of Exeter Library.

The Number of Summary Convictions under the Metropolitan Police Act.
Children under the age of 16 in 1834 . . . . . 1557.
The number of convictions by jury in that time 182.

Summary Conviction for the year 1835 . . . . . 1624.
The number of convictions by jury in that time 180.

Summary Conviction for the year 1836 . . . . . 1662.
The number of convictions by jury in that time 163.

Summary Conviction for the year 1837 . . . . . 1819.
The number of convictions by jury in that time 139.

The district schools, in principle to provide the magistrates with a more humane placement facility, were further weakened by not addressing themselves legally to a particular group such as convicted children, poor children, or disabled children. Therefore they did not receive the organized financial patronage of either the government or the church or a philanthropic society.[30]

The anomaly presents itself of children being legal offenders and yet led to such a situation by the exigencies of poverty. Society, whether due to financial organization or to judicial prejudice, was able to respond institutionally only to their criminality in any predictable fashion. That the exigencies of poverty were indeed criminogenic can perhaps be illustrated from the following paper submitted by Metropolitan Police Captain Groves to the Select Committee of the House of Lords

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[30]B.K. Gray, A History of English Philanthropy (London: Heinemann & Co., 1905), p. 158.

in 1845. His paper included a reporting device not in widespread use at the time, the case history. He reported on two youths as representative of the young persons his department was dealing with.[31]

Name and Age	Crime	When and Where Tired	Remarks
1) John Nicholls, Aged 7	stealing coins.	June 12, 1846 at Warwick.	None.
2) Dominick Rafferty, Aged 7	stealing 9d in coppers.	October 21, 1846 at Preston.	Must be Separated from others.

Time Living on Crime	Character of Parents
1) Not known.	Bad connections.
2) Lived by crime from the time he was capable of committing it.	Thieves and vagabonds, father tramps about the country, an elder brother transported, another 12 years old has been in prison eight times.

Remarks by Chaplain	Court Remarks
1) None.	Sent to the House of Correction, under the provisions of a conditional pardon.
2) The habits and society in which this poor child has lived render it impossible for him to develop.	Rejected by order of the Secretary of State as unfit to be received.

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[31]Great Britain, House of Lords Reports, "Report of the Select Committee on Prisons and Prisoners, 1845."

The following statement to the same Select Committee by Sergeant Adams of Millbank Prison is also indicative of the effect of poverty and parental neglect.[32]

> Sergeant Adams states . . . that of the 100 prisoners whom he has to try every fortnight, that from 16 to 40 are boys, some even of the age of seven, a few of eight, and a great number of 9 and upwards. Of these children the offenses are, for the most part, of a pilfering description, to which the young children are tempted by older persons. A large proportion of these poor children, reports Mr. Adams, are wholly and entirely without friends and relations of any kind, others have stepfathers and stepmothers who abuse and ill-treat them, some have parents who encourage them, and almost all are quite uninstructed in religious and moral duties. He states that the evil is far more deeply-seated than in natural disposition of the children themselves. I do not think they are naturally worse than other children; but that these offenses spring from the want of proper moral and religious education, and in the want of proper friends to attend them.

A further theme which can be traced through the evolution of care for young offenders is that of the tug of war between specialization and generalization. In gross terms, the practice of feudal and early industrial corrections was one of an essentially generalized response by society to what it collectively, through law, perceived as deviancy. Prostitutes, beggars, murderers, political heretics, the insane, street waifs were all locked up and cared for together.

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[32]Ibid.

With the industrial revolution, economic diversification, and the rise of the middle class capable of funding and staffing its own charities, more specialized responses by society to deviancy began to evolve. Scientific rationalism and natural determinism had freed the collective mind from the moralistic and almost Biblical determinism of the preceding age. Correctional theorists of the time began to convince the public that street waifs and murderers should not be incarcerated together and to pay, either through charities or the state, for differential treatment.[33]

In 1851 Mary Carpenter organized a national conference in England to support the points in her book. She wanted free day schools, day industrial schools, and reformatory schools to be set up with state assistance.[34] The conference led to the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children which in 1853 reported to Parliament in favor of reformatory schools.[35] The report recommended that state grants should be made but that parents must continue to be financially responsible for their children. It said that power should

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[33]Gray, A History of English Philanthropy, p. 159.

[34]Rose, Schools for Young Offenders, p. 8.

be given to the courts to commit youngsters to schools instead of to prison. The outcome of the Select Committee was the Youthful Offenders Act of 1854, sometimes referred to as the Reformatory Schools Act.[36]

The 1854 Act gave the courts authority to send anyone under sixteen years of age to a reformatory school at the end of his or her sentence. The sentence had to be at least fourteen days. Thus it was a double system, sentence first and reformatory school after. The offender could be kept for two to five years in the school, but the Home Secretary could order his release at any time and could also transfer offenders from one institution to another. The state was to make a grant to schools inspected and certified by one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Prisons (there had been Inspectors of Prisons since 1835).[37]

This Act was the basis of the system of state supported schools which continued until 1969. It provided a strong legal impetus to found schools and a number of well-known institutions were added to the few existing schools of the period, e.g. the Philanthropic Society's institution.

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[36]Carlebach, Caring for Children in Trouble, p. 22.

[37]Great Britain, House of Commons Reports, "Youthful Offenders Act of 1854, Chapter 2."

In 1857 the Act was amended to allow a local authority to contribute to the establishment of reformatories and to the maintenance of local children in them.[38]

The offenses for which a young person could be committed were diverse. The following list drawn up by the Home Office in 1861 was typical of the offenses of the time. The sequence of the offenses is the relation of their statistical occurence, the exact percentages of which were not available.[39]

1) begging.
2) wandering.
3) being destitute.
4) in care of parents of criminal or drunken habits.
5) the daughter of a father convicted of sexual assault upon her.
6) failing to attend school.
7) being beyond control.
8) refractory in the work house.

Therefore the crimes of being penniless, without a home, or raped by your father were, in the heyday of the British Empire, punishable by incarceration at the age of seven. Compulsory correctional education was then intended to insure that these crimes did not occur again.

One methodology used in this education was what might be termed the transmission of values by diffusion, or setting a good example. In his report for 1847, Sydney

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[38]Rose, Schools for Young Offenders, p. 26.

[39]Ibid, p. 14.

Turner of the Philanthropic Society described the requirements of delinquent British boys based on his own analysis of the national character.[40]

> The English political system and the Protestant religion make it necessary to teach a boy to think and to think rightly; this involves selecting the right kind of influence over the boy. The need is for persons who would be the parent, influencing by affection, not governing by discipline, to make the asylum not a prison, but a school for education.

The curriculum to be presented through this methodology was that of training in the manual trades. The Philanthropic Society's Annual Report of 1848 noted that, " . . . such occupations as agriculture and the trades of the carpenter and the cobbler are best suited to the needs of these individuals."[41]

To further the aims of agricultural education, the Committee of the Society set out to find a suitable spot outside London to begin an agricultural colony.[42] Many sites had to be rejected because of the prejudice of the local inhabitants against an institution of this nature. The Society records the case of one lady who, on learning that enquiries were being made about a site in her

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[40]Great Britain, "Report to the Committee of the Philanthropic Society, 1847," Abstract 03, pp. 8-10.

[41]Ibid, 1848, p. 8.

[42]Great Britain, The Royal Philanthropic Society, "The Story of the School," pamphlet published by the Redhill School, Redhill, Surrey, 1954.

vicinity, offered the Society the sum of one thousand pounds to keep away from her area. It is simply noted that the society accepted this money as a "Benevolent Gift" and that they continued their search elsewhere.

This effort in specialization was encouraged by influential politicians who quite preferred a military curriculum for the correction of delinquents. The House of Lords Committee of 1855 made the following recommendation.[43]

> Might not the means be found in some barracks or fort connected with a neighbourhood of the places of embarkation, of providing for the accomplishment of an object so important as the due custody, the effective punishment and the martial reformation of that large class of juvenile offenders whom the ingenuity of more mature and experienced delinquents renders the instruments of so much and such increasing criminality.

Such an institution had been founded at Parkhurst in 1840 and it was to become a popular placement facility for the London area magistrates to send offenders.[44] Its educational program was defined as, "A judicious course of moral, religious, and industrial training, but the means adopted for such purpose are not of a nature as to counteract the wholesome restraints of corrective discipline." Its methods were certainly not

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[43]Great Britain, Third Report of the House of Lords Committee on the Present State of Prisons and Prisoners, 1855, "Several Gaols and Houses of Correction," p. v.

[44]Carlebach, Caring for Children in Trouble, p. 25.

contrary to such "corrective discipline."[45] For the next century, Parkhurst Prison was to be one of Britain's most infamous institutions.

Another institution from which Parkhurst Prison drew some of its earliest young clients was the special prison hulk (old ship) run by J.H. Clapper.[46] This type of facility was one of the most notoriously vile in the entire history of penology.

Parkhurst's program was organized around three classes, selection for which was entirely a question of personal assessment by the governor. He made up the following groups.[47]

1) Probationary Class -- Boys are not permitted intercourse with each other which is inseparable from youthful exercise.

2) Ordinary Class -- Boys in this class are not subject to corporal punishment.

3) Refractory Class -- Receive very rough treatment.

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[45]Great Britain, Home Office Reports, "First Report Relating to Parkhurst Prison, 1840," Inspector of Prisons Record, p. 1.

[46]W. Branch-Johnson, The English Prison Hulks, (London: Routledge, Kegan & Paul, 1957), pp. 146-156.

[47]Great Britain, Home Office Reports, "First Report Relating to Parkhurst Prison, 1840," p. 4.

The chaplain of the institution reported that though the majority of boys had attended school, out of two hundred and seventy-three admitted only a few could read or write.[48] An interesting counterpoint to the chaplain's observation can be found in an interview given to Mary Carpenter in 1845 by the Registrar of Newgate Prison, a Mr. Cotton. This interview is reproduced in appendix A.1. In the interview, Mr. Cotton expressed scepticism about the value of tests given to young offenders upon entrance to correctional institutions.[49]

> The amount of instruction a child has received when brought into gaol is by no means to be estimated by the answers he gives and the answers the chaplain or instructor obtains. The juvenile classes of thieves are the most subtle, crafty, acute, mendacious body you can possibly imagine. They are perfectly aware that they are now objects of great compassion, that ignorance is supposed to be the cause of their position.

Mr. Cotton's comments about the "subtleness and craftiness" of the delinquents in feigning academic ignorance provides speculation on the following statement from Mr. Clay, chaplain of the Preston House of Correction.

> I call it extreme ignorance when a child cannot repeat a word of prayer, when they cannot do it

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[48]Ibid, p. 7.

[49]Carpenter, Reformatory Schools, p. 18.

> intelligibly. They attempt sometimes to repeat the Lord's Prayer, but they make gibberish of it. I call it extreme ignorance when they cannot name the reigning sovereign. When I have put the question to them in the plainest way I can, "Do you know who is reigning over us?" the answer has been, "No." "Do you know the name of the Queen?" "Prince Albert, I do believe."[50]

A comprehensive methodology for interviewing young offenders was not in use at that time. Therefore, the primary sources of information about such youngsters and the institutions they were sent to come from those persons whose professional and financial security depended upon them. That even someone with such a vested interest as Mr. Cotton's would admit to the basic anomaly of forcibly removing a youngster from a society when his only crime was to never have had the opportunity of fully participating in that society is a telling indictment.

What the young persons of the nineteenth century would have said about their condition and its correction might be guessed from photographs of "Wayward and Delinquent Youth" taken into care in the original Dr. Barnardo's Home opened in Stepney Causeway, London, in 1870.[51]

In these early photographs, reproduced in appendix A. 2., the Barnardo children appeared in ragged clothes, the deplorable condition in which they entered the Home.

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[50]Great Britain, Home Office Prison Research Unit, "Report of the House of Lords Select Committee on Prisons and Prisoners, 1850" (London: H.M.S.O., 1947), p. 11.

[51]Gray, A History of English Philanthropy, p. 159.

Dr. Barnardo knew where to find the boys. Either a magistrate could be persuaded to use his facilities as a reformatory (with the state thus paying the much appreciated bill) or he and the "beadle" (bailiff) would find them in the twisted alleyways of East London.[52] The beadle had been a detetective for many years and, according to Barnardo, "His past experience with the criminal classes is of the highest service to him in prosecuting his present employment."[53]

One of Dr. Barnardo's practices was to take a subsequent photograph of a boy taken into care, showing him clean, well-fed, and happy, learning a trade in a Barnardo workshop. The 'before and after' theme was part of Victorian social moralizing.[54] Against the demon of social evil was set the word of God. These photographs were put into pamphlets telling the life story of the boy and his awful past. The cards and pamphlets were then sold to the public in packs of twenty for five shillings, or six pence apiece.[55] Dr. Barnardo wanted to impress prospective philanthopists and also the local

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[52]Valerie Lloyd,"Methods and Motives of Dr. Barnardo," The Times (London: 18 May, 1974), p. 20.

[53]Ibid, p. 18.

[54]Gray, A History of English Philanthropy, p. 181.

[55]Lloyd, "Methods and Motives of Dr. Barnardo,"p.20.

authorities empowered by the Home Office to pay for children to be sent to his institution. Photographic technology gave him the means to promote that impression in a much more graphic way than the religious, evocative prose of other reformers who were obliged to secure financial backing.

As institutions such as the Barnardo's Homes and the Home Office's own reformatories were developing, so was the debate between the correctional theorists, inspired by Mary Carpenter. However, a crucial divergence in the field of juvenile corrections had taken place, almost unnoticed. The first child-centered institutions had been set up with curricula as mentioned, and a debate over the direction of their development had begun. But the debate was taking place amongst the theorists, while the institutions were being staffed, funded, and given their legislative structure by Parliament.

The points being raised by the theorists could be inserted into almost any twentieth century debate. Sir S. Northcote thought that the prisons existed solely for their deterrent effect.[56] To attempt reformation of youngsters inside them was a contradiction in terms. He thought that one reformed outside of prison or punished

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[56]Carlebach, Caring for Children in Trouble, p. 41.

inside it and that any blurring of the two functions was a waste of time and money.

Harriet Martineau rejected the reformative possibilities of incarceration on somewhat different grounds.[57]

> It mixes tried and convicted, young and old, sophisticated and innocent. It trains the young towards more efficient criminality, it brands a child for life as a convict and, if the prison or reformatory attempts to overcome these handicaps by the use of separate confinement, this too is undesirable because separate confinement is too cruel a form of treatment to subject children to.

John Clay did not reject confinement outright, even for young offenders. He claimed to have introduced a modified system of separate confinement which was effective for some offenders. He described those suitable as boys who had " . . . momentarily gone astray but had good homes to return to."[58]

To Sir Joshua Jebb, Her Majesty's Director of Prisons in 1851, the problem of delinquency was a simple one. He thought that the causation and therefore prevention of delinquency depended on the social situation of the lower classes from which delinquents came.[59] He did not elaborate, unfortunately, on how those conditions were to be changed. Obviously, he

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[57]Ibid, p. 42.

[58]Ibid, p. 44.

[59]Great Britain, Home Office Research Unit, "House of Commons Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles," 1852.

did not anticipate delinquency arising as a phenomenon in other social classes.

On this point, Mary Carpenter took a quite different view. She thought that any child of any social class could be expected to commit delinquent acts of some kind. The difference between the upper and lower classes lay in the fact, she held, that whereas the upper class child was guilty of a delinquent act, the child was more likely to be corrected, restrained, and educated by its parents. However, the lower class child faced twin dangers. Either its delinquent act went undetected and therefore acted as a corrupting force on the child, or it was found out and the resulting incarceration was itself a corrupting force. She argued that both in the treatment and the prevention of juvenile delinquency the most important factor was to treat a child in the "right" way rather than in a legally or socially acceptable way.[60]

Yet the institutional effect, which Mary Carpenter had indeed identified, and an influential public attitude towards juvenile corrections were operant independently of these theoretical considerations, the observations of Northcote, Martineau, and Carpenter herself. During the

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[60]Carpenter, Reformatory Schools, p. 67.

visit of the Home Secretary, Lord Norton, to the juvenile section of Parkhurst Prison in 1860, the prison governor asked for a pardon for a boy aged eight. The Home Secretary refused because of, ". . . the suspicion in the public mind of the first advances at Parkhurst towards a better treatment of the young outcasts of society."[61]

The observations of A.F. Young about the Parkhurst institution provide a certain background to a modern development in penology, that of offender participants.[62]

> Parkhurst was established as a juvenile prison in 1837 with the school as an integral part of it. But as the schools were run by fear, the boys frequently wearing irons when in school and the schoolmasters were usually themselves convicted felons, it was seldom that they therefore achieved any education or reformation.[63]

Sydney Turner, appointed in 1857 as Inspector of Reformatory Schools, had his own criteria for the selection of teachers which he made clear to the House

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[61]A. Childe-Pemberton, The Life of Lord Norton (London: J. Murray & Co., 1909), pp. 95-96.

[62]Center for the Study of Human Potential, "A Teacher Education Program for Offender Participants" (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts School of Education, 1971).

[63]A.F. Young and E.T. Ashton, British Social Work in the 19th Century (London: Heinemann & Co., 1956), p.164.

of Commons Select Committee on Reformatories.[64] These criteria were to provide the framework for staffing policy in reform schools for the latter half of the nineteenth century.

His first criterion was that the teacher should be religious and feel a sense of "mission" towards the young offenders he was teaching. His second criterion was that the trade teachers need only have enough professional skill to " . . . be able to gain the scholars' confidence and respect." Beyond that, any particular aptitude or pedagogical skill was not necessary. Third, "They must not have any physical defects or oddities of manner or appearance. A good countenance and manly figure are great helps to this influence."

The emphasis on trade training and the moral example of the teacher (not to mention the requisite manly figure) was therefore firmly established in the heritage of juvenile corrections and was to be continued in the institutions to the present day.

Religious education, due to the beliefs of the founders of the first institutions, was another part of that heritage. The Reverend Clay of the Preston House of

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[64]Carlebach, Caring for Children in Trouble, p. 25.

Correction compiled a table of the religious knowledge of young prisoners in 1850.[65] The table is reproduced in appendix A.3. The table provided a distinction between the young persons incarcerated for "Sessions," pending appearance before a judge and therefore comporable to the contemporary function of detention, and "Summary," those who had already been convicted and sentenced. This table showed that the academic ability of the two groups was almost identical.

Of particular relevance to the concerns of some teachers in juvenile corrections today was Reverend Clay's treatment of the supposedly corrupting and "demoralizing" literature to which the young inmates had been exposed. He stated the following in his report of 1850.[66]

> Can there be a stronger proof than is presented by these tables of the utter deficiency of any moral and religious training in the minds of these young persons who come under the penalty of the law at Preston? Yet nearly half of them, however deficient in other knowledge, had found the means of access to such books as would stimulate their worst passions and encourage them in crime. It will also be noticed that while the continual proportions of the Sessions cases and the Summary convictions are nearly equal in all other particulars, a much larger proportion of the former, which may be considered the most heinous, have become acquainted with these demoralizing productions.

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[65]Carpenter, Reformatory Schools, p. 23.

[66]Ibid, p. 22.

The reformatory schools continued to expand throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and, of particular interest, developed reformative practices quite independently of the early reformers who had begun the institutions.

The Victorian view that work was a virtue in itself, that habits of work had to be established in children, and that regularity of work habits was a necessary qualification for becoming a respectable member of the lower class, led to an excessive use of labor as an allegedly reformative practice in many institutions.[67] Since it was also considered to be a measure of an institution's worth to be run as cheaply as possible, and since it was necessary to convince those who donated funds that their money was being well spent, a number of these exploitative practices became entrenched. The trend became one from work carried out for training purposes to work carried out to increase profit. Some institutions used industries which were not only useless in a training sense but were also detrimental to the children, just to make a profit.

Some institutions operated on the basis of the higher profitability of the older inmate, the one who had the

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[67]Great Britain, Home Office Research Unit, "22nd Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools, 1879," p. 56.

training and experience to maintain a high level of production in the institution's industries.[68] There was therefore a trend to retain the services of such an inmate for as long as possible. In the 22nd Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, the following comment was made.[69]

> I think the tendency to keep the boys to the end of their term of detention should be kept within reasonable limits. The protraction of this term for the enhancement of the institution is not in the wider interests of the boys. Unless a desire for improvement can be set up in the boys' hearts by the influence of the school in a year or two, it is a waste of time, waste of money, waste of opportunity to retain him. To do so for simple reasons of accountability is most unwise.

Even this sort of training and education did not satisfy all those in society who wished even stricter measures. A factor well known to modern penologists, the quite literally reactionary objections of influential public figures, began to emerge. The Lord Chief Justice said in 1850, "I am myself extremely jealous of the gratuitous instruction of the young felon in a trade, merely because he is a felon."[70]

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[68]Carlebach, Caring for Children in Trouble, p. 68.

[69]Great Britain, Home Office Research Unit, "15th Report of the Inspector of Reformatory Schools, 1879," p. 77.

[70]Carlebach, Caring for Children in Trouble, p. 71.

Reformers and some sympathetic politicians began to perceive the dangers of institutionalization and of a system perpetuated by its own inertia beyond its original function. During the 1870s the incidence of juvenile delinquency seemed to be falling and some of the more vocal critics took the view that since the schools had done the job they had set out to do, they should close or radically change their practices.[71] Lord Norton, who had been instrumental in the passage of the 1854 Act on the schools, began campaigning in 1881 for the abolition of reformatories and their replacement by "schools for neglected and destitute children."[72] His perception of the problem as one of all destitute children and not just those who happened to have been convicted, was at once ahead of its time and out of step with practices in the institutions which he had originally helped to set up.

But complaints of inefficiency were also being made and the response to all of these trends was more government control. Parliament passed the Reform Schools Act in 1899 which put all reformatories under the administrative

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[71]Ibid, p. 74.

[72]Childe-Pemberton, The Life of Lord Norton, pp. 95-96.

aegis of the Home Office.[73] The point had been made, and apparently accepted by Parliament, that as public funds accounted for ninety percent of the reform schools' budget, then the government should be the administrator of the schools.

With the consequent involvement of all members of staff in the civil service system, the programs and institutional roles were stabilized and domesticated. In 1905 the superintendents established a Social Union which arranged for an annual dinner at which important members of the Home Office were invited to speak.[74] In 1908, the Society of Superintendents was formed and it produced the Certified Schools Gazette, the forerunner of the Approved Schools Gazette.[75] These developments served to strengthen the staff hierarchy and give it public media for advancing its case, a case which was not functionally synonymous with the needs of the young persons involved.

The Gladstone Committee was set up in 1896 to inquire into two areas; the further specialization of the reformatory schools with a view to special accomodation

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[73]Ruggles-Brise, The English Prison System, p. 101.

[74]Carlebach, Caring for Children in Trouble, p. 82.

[75]Ibid.

for young offenders aged sixteen to twenty-one, and an examination of the American juvenile reformatory at Elmira, New York.[76]

This early example of cross-cultural contact in the area of penology shows a theme rather familiar to students of Anglo-American comparisons, the criticism of Americans for applying technology and hollow verbiage to essentially European ideas. The following passage is from the report of the Gladstone Committee.[77]

> Our discussion was characterized by a hardly veiled hostility to the Elmira system for, though the other States have, in varying degrees, adopted the reformatory system, Elmira remains the type, and pattern of the novel institution which the Americans claim to have originated and which they invite other nations to adopt as an essential feature of any good penal system. Their rather bulky pamphlets failed to convince the European reader that any new thing had been discovered that was not already in existence under another name in Europe. A certain irritation was apparent throughout the discussion, that the Americans should force upon the attention of Europe . . . a new form of institution for dealing with crime which, if the claim made on its behalf can be justified by results, has at any rate not yet been long enough in existence to furnish certain proof that a new discovery has been made or that measures were working successfully in America which European countries were either content to ignore or too idle to apply. In short, it was decided to give a vote of confidence to a system which, though abounding in specious theories and promises of reform, was not hitherto fortified by statistical data which alone can justify prudent men, engaged in the repression of crime, from embarking on new designs.

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[76]Roger Hood, Borstal Re-Assessed (London: Heinemann & Co., 1965), p. 12.

[77]Ruggles-Brise, The English Prison System, pp. 95-96.

This view of American programs as addressing themselves to the same problems but with an obscuring concern for mechanistics is one which continues in English corrections to the present day.

Many of the Gladstone Committee's recommendations became part of the Children's Act of 1908, but a fundamental question remained. Was the reformatory system to be placed under the Department of Education or remain with the Home Office? The implications of this seemingly administrative question were as follows.

If the curricula of the schools were to be determined by educational standards, then great changes would have to be made in staffing, financial provisions, and program content. The schools could be, theoretically, evaluated and funded on whether they raised the quantifiable educational standards of the children, or not. Measures such as reading and mathematics skills could be used to determine staff efficiency. Potential performance in public school of the child in care could be assessed with a view to early release.

However, under the Home Office the criteria were different. The Home Office had a mandate for law enforcement. It included provisions for punishment of young offenders irrespective of what effect this might have on

the young offenders' future behavior. Staff would be selected for different qualities than those desired by the Department of Education. In a general sense, the public's concern for economical, secure custody was more likely to be followed by the Home Office.

By the First World War, the schools' fundamental problems of control and funding had not been changed. Their government grant was altered in 1914 following the recommendations of the earlier Gladstone Committee, but increased costs soon left the schools short of funds.[78] In 1919 some financier found the answer, and it was simple enough. There was to be a flat rate per child, calculated on the tcal estimated cost, and half of this would be paid by the local authority responsible for the child and half by the Home Office.[79]

The debate over control was apparently toned down in 1914 by the appointment of the reformist C.E. Russell as Chief Inspector. He was very outspoken against those regulations that prevented individual treatment and lessened self-respect among the children; uniforms, silence at meals, an over-organized curriculum and

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[78]Rose, Schools for Young Offenders, p. 11.

[79]Ibid, p. 12.

militaristic regimentation in general. But after the First World War, the debate on the role and function of the schools started again.

In 1927 the Report of the Departmental Committee on Young Offenders was published.[80] The Committee made many recommendations, among which the most noteworthy were the raising of the minimum age of committal to ten, the raising of the maximum age to seventeen, and a maximum period of detention of three years to be reduced only by the decision of the Home Office and the institution managers. The committee therefore supported the position of the Home Office and not the Department of Education. The Home Office was to have the final say in when a young person was ready to be released. These changes were embodied in the Children and Young Persons Act of 1933.[81]

While these legal and organizational changes were being made in the 1920s and 1930s, the curricula presented in the schools continued essentially intact from the nineteenth century. Trade training was common in the institutions which kept records and in many even the record of trade training was a euphemism for plain

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[80]Great Britain, Home Office Research Unit, "Departmental Committee on Young Offenders, 1927."

[81]Rose, Schools for Young Offenders, p. 13.

manual labor such as sewing up mailbags and repairing old military shoes.[82]

At the Borstal wing of Portland Prison, former Borstal boys were employed as instructors and earned the following accolade from the Governor.[83] "Former convict instructors are well employed, having distinguished themselves by their tactful, firm, and kindly handling of the lads."

Magistrates continued to look favorably upon the reform schools' practices. The Recorder (magistrate) of Middlesex replied to a youth who asked for 'another chance,' "What better chance can I give you than to send you to Borstal? There you will be trained, fed, and clothed at the expense of the state."[84]

A most telling reflection on the curriculum of the reformatories and Borstals was the phrase which the magistrates used to sentence young persons, "You are going to a place where you will be taught a trade."[85] This phrase was used so often that it became part of delinquent lore and was used satirically in the novel by

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[82]Hood, Borstal Re-Assessed, p. 4.

[83]Great Britain, The Howard League Journal Vol. 1, No. 3 (1924) p. 145.

[84]Hood, Borstal Re-Assessed, p. 6.

[85]Howard League Journal Vol. 4, No. 2 (1935) p. 185.

Alan Sillitoe, Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner.[86]

A hope expressed by the Home Secretary himself must have also been received as hollow irony by many contemporary and future young inmates.[87]

> If, as I am confident is the case, the foundations upon which we build are sure, the Home Secretary of 20 years hence will have the pleasure of closing a large number of our present prisons.

As interviewing of incarcerated young offenders was not permitted during this period and institutional records do not include the young persons' evaluations, one can only glean information about their perceptions from very occasional remarks such as that recorded at the Marylebone Police Court in 1932. A Borstal boy named Bingley was reported as saying, "Borstal is supposed to reform everyone but I doubt it very much in my experience."[88]

During the Second World War, programs and staff were greatly reduced. Committals were either for a very short term or to prison itself because of accomodation shortages in the juvenile institutions. After the war,

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[86]Alan Sillitoe, Lonliness of the Long Distance Runner (London: Penguin Books, 1962.)

[87]Great Britain, Home Office Research Unit, Home Office Reports, 1929, p. 76.

[88]Ibid, 1932, p. 15.

success rates, recidivism rates over a prescribed period of time, fell.[89] However, administrative complacency over the effectiveness of the educational curricula in the reformatories continued despite the lack of evidence linking the fall in recidivism rates to the curricula. The Governor of Rochester Borstal said in 1949, "It is my firm conviction that the introduction of trade training in its present form has done more to convince the boy of our intentions than any other piece of training."[90]

In 1948 the Home Office opened several detention centers as a response to the fall in perceived success of the reformatories. The intention of these detention centers was to provide, ". . . a short, sharp shock."[91] They were to be used as an alternative to the costly and debatably effective long-term institutions. Magistrates were to be given the power to use them as placement facilities where they felt that such a short, sharp shock would be what the particular offender needed. The overall program of the detention centers was to be punitive and not rehabilitative.

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[89]Great Britain, Home Office Research Unit, Home Office Reports, "Five Year Report, 1945-1950," p. 18.

[90]Great Britain, Home Office Research Unit, Police Commissioners' Report, 1949, p. 115.

[91]Ibid, 1950, p. 48.

> Discipline and punishment must remain the purpose of these Centres, they should not be allowed to become again places of training, or remedial treatment and not primarily of punishment.[92]

This function of the detention centers continued into the 1960s.

> I have looked at a centre for young persons under 21 with their strict regime. It's a very fine thing. All young prisoners are set to a brisk tempo, which is designed to exact the fullest physical and mental effort, in an atmosphere of strict discipline.[93]

However, the effectiveness of the curricula in preparing the offenders for employment after release, its historic rationale, was being seriously criticized and the whole function of the schools as placement facilities was being questioned. The Advisory Council on the Employment of Prisoners' report, "Work and Vocational Guidance in Borstal in 1962" said that eighty-five percent of inmates passed the institutions' trade training courses.[94] Yet after release, only thirty percent or less followed on with the trade. This number dropped to seventeen percent by four months post-release and with no figures beyond that.

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[92]Great Britain, House of Lords Debates Vol. 230, Column 1105 (1 May 1961).

[93]Ibid.Column 1121.

[94]Copy of unpublished report available University of Exeter Institute of Education Library.

Criticism of the system spread to even the supervisory staff whose employment depended on its continuation. Commented a borstal Governor in 1962, "The content of educational programmes is of little importance when compared to the attitudes and relationships which the classroom could possibly engender but which it is not doing under the present system."[95]

By 1969, public acceptance of the ineffectiveness of reformatory education, criticisms from within the system itself, and an ever increasing conviction rate of juveniles prompted Parliament to abandon the Children's Act of 1933 and replace it with the Children and Young Persons Act of 1969.[96]

The institutions set up for compassionate reasons by the Victorian reformers had failed to provide a model or an example of effective re-education of juvenile delinquents. The overwhelming emphasis on trade training and religious instruction had neither motivated the young persons to take up peaceful vocations or pursue further educational goals. Recidivism rates remained fairly constant and, in the twentieth century, began to rise.

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[95]Great Britain, Home Office Research Unit, Home Office Reports, "Commissioners' Report, 1962," p.6.

[96]Great Britain, The Children and Young Persons Act of 1969, Chapter 54 (London: H.M.S.O., 1970.)

Administrators of these institutions observed no enthusiasm for the curricula on the part of the young offenders and recorded no growth or change in their academic abilities. Again, there was no evidence whatsoever of any positive reaction to the educational programs from those most concerned -- the students. The only reactions measurable were indirect; the increasing rates of police apprehensions and convictions, and a continuation rate from detention center to approved school or borstal (1960 to 1966) of eighty-seven percent.[97]

The 1969 Act was intended to reverse this trend. Its method was to withdraw support for the approved schools and return the whole correctional process to the community (local authority) from which the young offender had come. The Victorians had taken young offenders out of their communities and isolated them in institutions with prescribed curricula. In 1969, young offenders were returned to their communities.

The Children and Young Persons Act of 1969

The Children and Young Persons Act, Chapter 54, was passed 22 October, 1969. In light of the thesis that

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[97]Great Britain, Home Office Research Unit, "Statistics from Juvenile Courts,1967" (London: H.M.S.O., 1968), p. 42.

institutional compulsion, with the threat of punishment, is a negative force in educational motivation and the rehabilitation of young offenders, the effects of this Act are pertinent to this research.

The Act contained three provisions which were sharp departures from previous legislation, in particular from the Children's Act of 1933. The first of these provisions, and to date the most contentious, was the removal of the power of juvenile magistrates to sentence young offenders directly to institutions.[98]

> An order sending a person to an approved school shall not be made after such a day as the Secretary of State may specify for the purposes of this subsection. Sections 54 and 57 of the Act of 1933 shall cease to have effect.

The second provision was the substitution of a sentence pronounced by the magistrate with a "care" or "supervision" order to a local authority.[99] By this provision, a youth convicted of an offense or by other criteria in need of care could only be returned by the court to the appropriate local authority. If, for example, a young person from Plymouth was convicted of stealing a car in London, he or she would be returned by the London magistrate to the care of the Devon County

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[98]Great Britain, The Children and Young Persons Act of 1969, p. 12.

[99]Ibid, p. 9.

Council. The London magistrate had no power to imprison the youth in London or anywhere else -- only to return the offender to the local authority where he or she was originally resident. It then became the responsibility of the local authority to undertake whatever diagnostic, educational, or remedial steps it deemed necessary. Thus the content of the sentence, of the care order, was the responsibility of the local authority and as the local authority was unable to refer their youth to the approved schools by law, they were obliged to treat the young offenders in their original social and educational environment.

The third main provision was the transfer of financial and administrative support from the reformatories which had been approved by the Home Office to the community homes run by the local authorities.

> 19. It shall be the duty of the children's Regional Planning Committee for each planning area, hereafter referred to as the "committee," to make arrangements with such persons as the committee sees fit, for the provision by those persons of facilities for enabling directions given by the local authority under section 12(2) of this Act to persons resident in the area to be carried out effectively. Where a regional plan for a planning area includes provision for a community home to be provided by one of the relevant authorities, it shall be the duty of the local authority concerned to provide, manage, equip, and maintain that home.[100]

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[100]Ibid, p. 25.

The Act and its provisions can be attributed to several factors. The juvenile crime rate had risen steadily since the end of World War Two. Recidivism, either to the same institution or to borstal, was endemic in the Home Office's approved school system. The Act was therefore an attempt to break the pattern of juvenile crime and recidivism. The methods chosen were to cut off the magistrates' power to place young persons in the approved institutions and to transfer funding of such institutions to the local authority. If the local authorities wished to make use of the physical components of the old reformatories, it was their choice to do so. However, funds were only to be supplied for community based treatment. Unfortunately, the making of provisions has not, to date, proved synonymous with the making of actual programs.

To determine the effects of this legislation on programs and young persons, interviews were held with social workers, teachers, and a magistrate involved in corrections in the London area. Informants were unanimous in their objective observations of the situation. All observed that juvenile crime was still on the increase, that young offenders were committing crimes as soon as the police were obliged to release them, that school truancy was increasing. All informants identified the lack of compulsion in the new statutes as the cause of this

situation. Some saw it as the unpleasant but necessary first step in eliminating criminogenic institutions and providing community services. Particularly the social workers noted that for the first time their clients were motivated to seek jobs and informal education simply because an element of compulsion had been removed. The magistrate took a contrary view. "What are we teaching these young persons in any case? We're teaching them that they can commit crimes with impunity." But when asked his opinion of the most pressing educational need, the magistrate (and the majority of the social workers) identified "motivation" or "application" as the most pressing need.[101] For a text of the interview with the magistrate, see appendix A.5. Others observed that the youth were indeed drifting and aimless on the one hand but unresponsive to suggestions and instruction on the other.

From a local authority's point of view, the situation was somewhat different. Mr. B. Smith, Officer for Regional Planning for Intermediate Treatment in Devon and Cornwall, made several pertinent points in interview. The text of his interview is reproduced in appendix A.6. He supported what the social workers had noted by saying

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[101]Interview with Mr. E. Cleever, Magistrate's Court, London Borough of Camden, 6 August 1972.

that rehabilitative education was a long term affair and that young offenders should not be expected to change their habits simply because the law has changed. He offered the opinion that the juvenile crime rate would in fact begin to decline as would-be offenders began to accept the non-compulsory services the local authority was offering and as the anti-social behavior engendered in the institutions began to dissipate. He also thought that motivation was something that had to be slowly constructed and not instilled overnight, that non-compulsory programs could play a central role in this development.

However, such programs have yet to be comprehensively organized. Five years after the passage of the 1969 Act, many local authorities still detain youth, waiting for funding, clarification of legal positions, development of resources.

> They sent a model around to all the Children's Regional Planning Committees. This is what we were supposed to develop in response to the Act. Unfortunately, they forgot to send much money along with their plan. They also failed to get the magistrates behind them. It's all a waste of time and paper in my opinion. We've got this humane Act and no resources to give to the children. Of course they're going to continue getting into trouble. There's nothing else for them to do. If you read these plans and the laws, you'd think this country had a comprehensive modern service for youth in crisis. Ask any of our so-called youth in crisis. These services just don't exist.[102]

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[102]Excerpt from an interview with Mrs. W. Warren, Social Worker, Cornwall County Council Department of Social Services, Cornwall, Great Britain, 16 January 1974.

Through Mrs. Warren, the social worker who expressed the preceding opinions, an interview was arranged with a young offender who had had quite recent experience with the new provisions of the delinquency legislation. The text of that interview is reproduced in appendix A.7. The young man had been convicted of a variety of offenses and had been referred to several different treatment programs. He observed that the positive attitudes of the staff in these programs had been helpful to him but that the vocational training he had received was fragmentary and not related to opportunities in society. He was of the opinion that the programs and legislation were not affecting his disposition to steal but that they at least were not creating problems as had the approved schools' institutional nature. He cited boredom as one of the basic factors in the continuation of his illegal activities.

In order to provide a sharper contrast between the educational provisions for young offenders prior to and after the 1969 Act, an interview was arranged, with the assistance of Mrs. R. Marsland, Assistant Probation Officer for the Redruth, Cornwall area, with Richard C., a young parolee who had been in an approved school as well as the subject of a care order to the local authority after the passage of the 1969 Act. This

interview is reproduced in appendix A.8. The informant gave testimony of the hostility and frustration engendered by life in a secure institution. His stated feelings during and after incarceration showed that being locked up intensified as well as sublimated aggressive behavior and that aggressive behavior was carried out into the community after release. His comments are therefore supportive of the intention of those who enacted the 1969 legislation, the intention to eliminate at least one source of violent behavior in the society, prisons for children.

Another source of evaluation of the effects of the 1969 Act was provided by the questionnaire reproduced in appendix A. 9. The questionnaire was administered to forty young persons who had been before the West Penwith magistrates from 1972 to 1974 and who were in care of their local autnority. The forty were the first forty in alphabetical order in the files of the Cornwall County Council Department of Social Services and were filled out with the cooperation of that department. In previous conversations with young offenders in Great Britain, mention was often made of various factors in the treatment scheme or institution which discouraged the participants and which created internal frustrations which continued with the young person upon leaving the treatment program. Other factors

were noted which were said to instill positive feelings and attitudes. These various points of contention or support were recorded and incorporated into this questionnaire. The questionnaire itself and tabulated responses are reproduced in appendix A. 9.

From this questionnaire, several notable factors emerged. The first was a seeming contradiction in the responses of the community treatment group on the question of the value of community treatment in vocational planning and training. More than half put the lack of vocational training as one of their personal reasons for making another court appearance likely. More than half also put the provision of vocational training as one of their personal reasons for the unlikelihood of another court appearance. The conclusion would appear to be that most thought what vocational education they had was worthwhile, and yet they felt even more was required. On the closed questionnaire, the community treatment group obviously indicated that vocational training was a positive influence. Vocational training in the secure accomodation of the approved school or detention center is given ambivalent to negative ratings throughout.

A second factor was the difference between the perceived effectiveness of the English and maths classes in the closed versus the open setting. In community treatment

programs, these classes were given a significantly high rating for their contribution to the young offenders' adjustment, whereas in the approved school and detention center setting the strongest rating is one of ambivalence. The disposition, qualifications, and resources of teachers in the various programs, a possibly influential variable, was not possible to assess.

A third factor was the importance given by the approved school and detention center group to the criminogenic effect of discipline in a secure institution. Yet the informants state "not wanting to return" as being a strong deterrent factor in the open-ended part of the questionnaire. A defect of the questionnaire in this regard may have been the lack of information available as to how long the informant had been out of a closed institution.

Regarding the institutions themselves and their educational programs, an interview was conducted with Mr. T. Hart, Superintendent of Cumberlow Lodge. This interview is recorded in appendix A. 10. Cumberlow Lodge is one of the most well-known assessment centers for young female offenders in Britain. In the interview, Mr. Hart attributed most juvenile crime and aimlessness to the failure of society to provide broad, humane services to all of its members. He opposed specialized treatment

programs of almost any description, perceiving them as almost criminogenic in themselves by virtue of their narrowness, their exclusive terms of reference, and the alienating structures of society which they, in his opinion, support. He proposed that the greatest needs of young offenders were for basic human respect, love, and support. Unless these were provided, he thought, juvenile crime would continue to increase.

Two Contemporary Institutions

Examination of another assessment and detention center provided counterpoint to Mr. Hart's concern with the "obscuring effect of specialization." The Stamford House Assessment Centre serves all twelve London boroughs. The Social Services Department's description of its function and organization is reprinted in appendix A. 11.

In addition to Cumberlow Lodge's battery of medical and psychiatric tests, Stamford House provides an educational assessment as a service to the local authorities. Superintendent B.G. Milne stated that the purpose of the educational assessment was to give ". . . teachers at the eventual placement a better picture of the youth's strengths and weaknesses."[103] To this end, the following

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[103]Excerpt from an interview with Superintendent B.G. Milne at Stamford House, 206 Goldhawk Road, Shepherd's Bush, London, Great Britain, 4 September, 1971.

tests are administered.

1) Staffordshire Test of Computation.
2) Ravens Matrix Test (record form only).
3) WISC Verbal Placement Test.
4) Dyak Graded Test of Reading Experience.

Also given to all young persons in residence, and included in their educational inventory, is an evaluation form filled in by their classroom teachers. This form is reproduced in appendix A. 11. The form is a relatively new one. It has its own biases. Intellect is measured as either "average" or "uninterested due to . . ," reactions to people are measured as either "shows leadership" or "boastful." But it is an improvement on the previous conduct assessment form in the opinion of Mr. R. Gallentry, Director of Education at the Centre.

> In the old form, there was a column down one side listing all the possible good attributes a child might have, and a column down the other side listing all the sorts of negative qualities. If a teacher just didn't like a boy outright, he would take his pen and just make a continuous mark down the bad side. This obviously wasn't much of an assessment, and that's our job. So we changed the format and now the teacher has to think a bit more about each child and his particular character.[104]

In an interview with Mr. Gallentry on the subject of youth in care, their education, and the 1969 Act, Mr. Gallentry supported the specialized testing that his

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[104]Excerpt from an interview with Mr. R. Gallentry, Director of Education at Stamford House, 206 Goldhawk Road, Shepherd's Bush, London, 9 June, 1975.

department administered, stating that it was the best way of determining an offender's strengths and weaknesses. He said that nothing was known about the young persons' character when brought in and some method was necessary of evaluating character. He dismissed Mr. Hart's concern as being ill-defined and altruistic, observing that what young offenders really needed was more secure placement and compulsory education.

Mr. Gallentry's concern with the lack of compulsion in the legal and educational process was similar to that of the magistrate cited, Mr. Cleever. However, the results of the questionnaire given to young offenders in Cornwall indicated, in their opinion, that the element of compulsion was the most criminogenic aspect of their treatment. What are possible reasons for this contradiction? Are some correctional officers concerned with custody and compulsion only to make their jobs more well-defined, more specialized? Or is compulsion indeed a necessary element of the process and has it, for ill-founded libertarian reasons, been needlessly removed from the legal treatment of youth in crisis?

The evidence so far would suggest that while secure custody obviously protects society in the short term, it breeds frustration and further violence. Specialization cannot be as easily discounted. The various specialized

curricula presented had not motivated the young offenders in custody. But this cannot be taken as a blanket condemnation of specialized curricula, much as Mr. Hart would assert that it is. It can only be said that either specialized curricula do not initially motivate young persons in reformatories (and only the broad, humanitarian concerns of Mr. Hart are appropriate) or than an appropriate specialized curricula has yet to be developed.

To provide some more information on this question, an examination was made of a British institution which relies on a highly specialized intake procedure and curricula. Kneesworth Hall School is run by the Cambridgeshire County Council. It is now part of the community-based treatment scheme and yet it takes referrals from a wide catchement area. It accepts primarily youth under care orders, young offenders, and yet it has the single criterion that every young person in the school must be of high measured intelligence.

The school was opened in 1949 at Royston, Hertfordshire. An early impetus to its foundation was the application of the work of Terman and Merrill.[105] Their tests were used to uncover significant numbers of

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[105]Robert Brooks, Bright Delinquents (Slough, Bucks: The National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales, 1972) p. 27.

intelligent delinquents. The war-time streamlining of the reformatory school system led to the trend in the post-war period to develop schools for more specialized populations. Kneesworth Hall was such a school.

A further impetus for the founding of the school was the idea that the brighter delinquent could be given a much better chance of re-adjustment if he were removed from the approved schools. R. Brooks, a researcher and participant observer at the school, quoted A.S. Neill in this regard.[106]

> Freedom works best with clever children. I should like to be able to say that, since freedom touches primarily the emotions, all kinds of children -- intelligent and dull -- react equally to it. I cannot say it.

The school now maintains its original selection criterion. It offers places on the basis of scores obtained on the Weschler Intelligence Test for Children and the Terman-Merrill form L or form M. Its role has been supported by research findings such as those of Garth, Tennent, and Pidduck which pointed out that the distribution of intelligence in the delinquent population approximates that in the greater population.[107] The Home Office, and later the Cambridgeshire County Council,

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[106] Ibid, p. 29.

[107] T. Garth, R. Pidduck, and M. Tennent, "Intelligent Delinquents?" British Journal of Educational Psychology Vol. 40, No. 2 (1970).

therefore felt it necessary to support the school on the basis that to not do so would deny a certain opportunity for intellectual advancement to a group of young persons. Brooks has argued for the continuation of the school on the point that, as opposed to other institutions, Kneesworth Hall " . . . attempts to alleviate the deep personal dissatisfaction of delinquency through personal sharing of experiences, feeling at depth, as well as intellectual development."[108]

But the program at Kneesworth Hall, with its emphasis on academic achievement and its view of delinquency as an almost psychological problem to be overcome by the individual, can be viewed very much as a variation on the late nineteenth century theme of individuals being deficient in relation to an organic social order. Brooks states, "It has always seemed to me that delinquent or deviant behavior is a sympton of a form of sickness, a sickness which derives from the individual involved."[109]

Operationally, the school fails to account for the highly selective factors of parental income and

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[108]Brooks, Bright Delinquents, p. 15

[109]Ibid, p. 86.

cultural background in determining who becomes delinquent. It should be of little surprise that the number of intelligent delinquents approximates the number of intelligent students in a normal school population. The program at Kneesworth presupposes that some children are born intelligent and by whatever bad luck or character defect become offenders and must be rescued from such a state by a specialized institution. S. Wisemann's work, which suggests that intelligence and backwardness are virtually genetic and only accentuated by the environment, is used by Brooks and the present headmaster of Kneesworth Hall, J.A. Brick, to defend the program.[110] Brooks in particular clearly places the onus of responsibility for delinquency on diverse psychologic forces at work within the individual and calls for further specialization to correctly determine them.

> To ascertain the psychologic and criminologic characteristics of highly intelligent, bright children whose behavior has deviated into delinquency, no extensive longitudinal and systematic studies have been carried out.[111]

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[110] S. Wisemann, "Environmental and Innate Factors in Educational Achievement," in J. Meade and S. Parkes, Genetic and Environmental Factors in Human Ability (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1967), pp. 64-80.

[111] Brooks, Bright Delinquents, p. 87.

To date the primary evaluation of the success of the Kneesworth Hall School has been carried out by the school itself. The school's research department followed a randomly selected group of one hundred and thirty-five young persons during the 1959-1969 period. In appendix A. 12, the results of this evaluation are reproduced. Table 8.21 gives the offenses for which the boys were originally committed to Kneesworth Hall School.[112] Table 8.25 shows the percentage of recidivism over a prescribed period of time.

A difference which stands out between these tables and similar recidivism surveys in other institutions is the great time gap, average about two years, between release and committal for another offense. Other evidence generally puts the highest recidivation period at one to six months post-release. One possible explanation may be that the Kneesworth Hall group indeed committed more offenses during the one to six month post-release period but that their intelligence was the deciding factor that permitted them to escape detection until a much later date.

A second explanation might be that the program of intensive academic work, and perhaps the unexamined effect

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[112]Courtesy Kneesworth Hall School, Royston, Herts., Great Britain, 1971.

of greater transferred expectations, indeed helped the young persons to adjust to society's laws for a longer period of time. That approximately fifty percent were reconvicted at whatever date does not, however, bear strong witness to the overall effectiveness of the program.

In summary, the Children and Young Persons Act of 1969 has elicited diverse reactions. Most persons in positions of authority (magistrates, correctional officers, teachers) who were consulted observed that it was a mistake to have removed the element of compulsion and "backbone" from the legal system. Conversely, the juveniles interviewed and spoken to expressed the opinion, however indirectly, that the secure institutions and the compulsory powers of the court had been in themselves criminogenic and not in the youngsters' best interests.

More independent thinkers and members of the public consulted said that the 1969 Act was a necessary step but that alternative programs had not been properly prepared and that reactionary measures were now needed. Here might be mentioned the effect of international economic changes influencing Britain from 1971 to 1974. Increases and diversification in spending were needed during this time to make the 1969 Act effective. A recurring theme is

that of shortages of capital, buildings, staff for educational programs of any description. These funding increases did not take place.

Now that the emotive and questionably effective reformatories have been phased out and some rough consensus reached in Britain over the root causes of delinquency, an effort to increase educational resources stands out as a much greater need than that of settling questions of pedagogical technique or criminological theory. Most young persons consulted did not feel particularly aggrieved or deeply frustrated by the new system, but were still committing petty crimes until something better came up. This, coupled with the social workers' and administrators' expressed desire for more resources, composes a somewhat unified call for financial investment in a well-intended but flagging system.

In the United States, the question of motivating young offenders to participate more positively in school and behave within the law has not been as fettered by financial restraints. Also, the absence of a nationally organized civil service staff has permitted a perhaps greater degree of experimentation than was possible in British institutions under the aegis of the Home Office.

However, despite these differences, the debilitating effects of institutional life on young offenders and the

failure of various educational programs to raise academic effort are shared. In the following chapter, an American institution shall be examined which began as a detention center quite similar in function and disposition to its British counterparts, but which underwent a marked change in its internal policies and in the attitudes of its young residents.

C H A P T E R III

AN AMERICAN FOCUS-- EDUCATION AT THE WESTFIELD DETENTION CENTER, MASSACHUSETTS

An examination of the history of British corrections and contemporary policy presented several issues relevant to the question of delinquency. Young offenders in Great Britain are not being educated, successfully, to break the cycle of crime and recidivism. Economic considerations are stunting innovations in educational services and economic considerations are presenting young offenders with short term obstacles that they can only surmount through crime. Long term vocational goals, the motivation to actualize those goals through learning, are not being developed.

Innovation and experimentation with these issues have tended to be more frequent in the United States. The opportunity to not only observe but to be a direct participant in such experimentation was afforded to the author in a detention center in the state of Massachusetts. The following results of this experimentation are admittedly restricted to one institution but their evaluation has been undertaken by a wider audience and is continuing to date.

A Historical Perspective, 1958 to 1970

The Westfield Detention Center was opened in 1957 by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Division of Youth Services.[1] The Center was to hold an average population of forty young persons from the ages of seven to seventeen. These young persons were to be brought in following arrest in the surrounding communities of Springfield, West Springfield and Westfield. Physically, the building was to be secure enough to ensure that the young persons could not escape prior to their court appearance. The normal time between arrest and court appearance was two weeks. The young persons whose parents could afford bail might stay in the institution less than two weeks. The young persons who had appeared in court but appealed the decision might be returned to the Center to await the appeal hearing and therefore stay more than two weeks. But for the large majority, ten to fourteen days was the average period in custody.

In addition to detaining the young persons for trial, the Center was to be used for purposes of assessment identical to those undertaken at the Stamford House Centre in England. A staff psychologist was appointed and

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[1]Massachusetts Division of Youth Services, " The Westfield Detention Center, " directive printed in Boston, Massachusetts, December, 1959.

judges usually asked for a psychological inventory of the young person to be provided at the court appearance. An educational specialist was also appointed and, in addition to having normal teaching duties, this specialist was to prepare an educational profile on each young person sent to the court. Curriculum was to be organized by the Head Teacher and its content was to be the same as that the student would otherwise be studying in the public schools.[2] In the original prospectus for teachers at the institution in 1957, extensive plans were made for remedial instruction, crafts and low level reading.[3] This prospectus was prepared before the first young offender was led through the institution's door.

There was an apparently high turnover in educational staff at the institution as numerous applications and announcements of vacancies were found in the institution's files for the period 1957 to 1970. An example of an announced vacancy for teaching staff is reproduced in Appendix B.1. along with an application typical of those

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[2]Ibid.

[3]Massachusetts Division of Youth Services, " Teaching Program at the Westfield Detention Center - An Outline, " printed in Boston, Massachusetts by the Division of Youth Services, 1957.

received for the position. Of particular interest was the military background of applicants, a background which was apparently intended to be relevant to teaching at the Detention Center. A significant point was raised in the application reproduced.

> I noted that many of the crimes and offenses which I investigated (as a military policeman) were the result of moral and/or academic ignorance, and aimless misdirection. I then made the dicision (sic) to make a career in education.

This sentiment reflected the attitude of other applicants. Most prospective teachers indicated their opinion that delinquency was largely a result of some form of academic " backwardness " and character deficiencies and saw their role as one of reducing delinquent behavior by imposing, in a closed institution and with virtual military discipline, the academic standards of what they viewed as a lawful and just society.

The objectives of the curriculum were to maintain academic parity with the public schools, provide specific remedial instruction where required and educate for " good citizenship and conduct. "[4] Aside from the allocation of a lump sum of $100 per year for the purchase of

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[4]Ibid.

materials, no mention was made of how or by what method the curricular objectives were to be met. It may be assumed that the disposition and training of the teacher was to be the unspecified method of the institution's educational program.

Bernard J. Kane, Staff Teacher at the institution from 1963 to 1965 produced the only report on teaching methods in the institution. His " precis " dated 6 September, 1963 is reproduced in Appendix B.2. Mr. Kane stated as his initial premise that motivation was the main problem for the educational program. He continued to develop what is essentially a lesson plan for a history unit on the American Revolution, stating simply that the students " will be motivated " by the various planned activities. There is no mention of a mechanism to show how the students were to be motivated or their motivation measured. Mr. Kane made the somewhat ironic statement at the end of his paper, " The majority of these children, for some reason or another, dislike school and the authority the teacher represents. Therefore, I shall attempt to motivate them by directing the subjects to their interests." It may be suggested that one reason children don't like school is that many teachers presume, rather than ascertain, their interests.

The author was hired as Head Teacher in October of 1970. An inventory, compiled at the time, of curricula and materials found in the institution's school rooms is reproduced in Appendix B.3. The inventory revealed a disparate collection of obsolete textbooks, jigsaw puzzles, crayons and trade training manuals. No provisions were found for testing the effectiveness of the curricula or for its systematic presentation. No records were kept of the students' progress or their own evaluations and suggestions. No students' work was kept or displayed. This was the evidence of thirteen years of publicly funded education in the institution.

Experimentation and Innovation

As in the British institutions examined, the educational program at the Westfield Detention Center could be characterized as a haphazard attempt at trade training and remedial work. Most of the effort of the individual teachers appeared to have been spent in the preparation of educational inventories on individual offenders to be forwarded to the courts. Copies of these inventories had not, as a matter of course, been kept at the detention centers to either develop individualized curriculum with or to develop overall educational objectives with. Motivation, the developing of interest

and application in learning, was seldom mentioned and not provided for in the program.

As with most of the British institutions, the assumption at Westfield appears to have been made prior to investigation that the young persons to be involved in the curricula would be of lower than average intelligence and disposed either by social class or individual personality to manual trades. An attempt was therefore made at Westfield to more openly determine the curricular interests of the young offenders while at the same time complying with the statutes of compulsory education in force.

The first step taken to determine these interests was the ending of the requirement, in January 1971, that the students had to complete a prescribed body of academic work during their two week detention period. It was decided to present the materials available on a non-compulsory basis and to solicit suggestions for new materials. The children were still obliged to attend the school rooms for four hours during the day and were required to engage themselves in some educational activity, but the definition of that educational activity was to be of their making from either the resources available or resources they could suggest.

This change led to increased demand from the youth in residence for a greater range of materials. To develop such

a range of materials and to respond to the students' immediate request for more personal contact, it became necessary to involve more teachers. The students' emotional state during confinement made the element of compulsion cause for further trauma and possible hostility and the age range was so diverse as to preclude any group instruction and necessitate individualized tutorials. This led to the involvement of tutors to develop, in a spirit of voluntarism, new curricula with the students.

The need of the young offenders for more personal contact had become apparent for two reasons. The first was that the interaction between youth and other staff members which was taking place involved the role framework of custodian and inmate. Mutual hostility was often expressed and violence between staff and young persons was not uncommon. Therefore, relationships with adults who were not part of the custodial staff were seen as providing a necessary element to the Center's program of education and also helping to reduce the level of violence and tension inside the institution.

Second, because of the range of abilities, disabilities and interests of the youth in the institution, it was thought that individualized or very small group

tutorial situations would be much more effective from an educational point of view.[5]

Taking these factors into consideration, it was decided to enlist volunteer tutors from the University of Massachusetts School of Education at Amherst, Massachusetts. Several papers, written by the author, were presented to prospective volunteer tutors at the University of Massachusetts in 1971. One of these papers is reproduced in Appendix B.4.

Students at the University were chosen because the campus was relatively close, other resources of the campus could be included and the Head Teacher, the author, was a graduate student in the School of Education. The University students were thought to potentially benefit in several ways. They would have practice in " micro-teaching " and tutorial situations which would be a logical stepping stone to full classroom teaching. Second, the University students would have the chance to meet young persons whose experiences in life would problematically be quite different from their own as the most successful members of the larger academic community.

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[5]With phrases such as ' it was thought ' and ' it was decided,' the reader should bear in mind that this refers to decisions taken or opinions held by the Head Teacher, the author. The Head Teacher has complete discretion as to what curricula are presented at the institution and what personnel are involved.

Third, it was assumed, perhaps condescendingly, that the philosophically anti-authoritarian University students would devote more energies to a group of young persons whom they perceived as oppressed than they would to a group of young persons they would be likely to meet as practice teachers in an average public school.

The young offenders at the Detention Center were intended to benefit by several means. One, that the personal contact with students closer to their age who were interested in them and their situation would provide welcome and supportive relief from the boredom and tension of incarceration. Second, that the personal tutorial method would be an effective alternative to methods producing failure and dissatisfaction that so many of them had experienced in public schools. Third, that motivation would be better developed into individual application and work habits in tutorial rather than large group instruction.

The response of the University students was enthusiastic and there evolved a nucleus of twenty to twenty-five students doing regular tutorial work at the Detention Center by the summer of 1971. Many volunteers, and the author, conducted interviews with the young offenders to evaluate the program which was developing.

One of these interviews is reproduced in Appendix B.5. These interviews revealed that, in the opinion of most young persons in residence, more was learned in the informal tutorials of the Detention Center than in public schools. All students thought that the curricula and methodology being used were the most practical given the constraints of the institution. Many students observed that for the first time in their lives they had consciously wanted to participate in a school program.

In response to the young students' request for more materials and tutors, itself a reflection on the curricula, a letter was sent in October of 1971 to the Assistant Commissioner of the Department of Youth Services to request more funds, more formal organizational support from the Department for the tutorial program, and more materials and resources to be supplied to the Detention Center itself. An expansion of the program to the campus of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst was also requested.

The result of this letter and consultations with members of the University of Massachusetts School of Education community was the formal organization of the tutorial and educational program by the Department of Youth Services in January of 1972. Evaluation of this

program and of the participation of the youth in residence may be obtained from three sources. The first source of evaluation is an informal questionnaire administered to the thirty youth in residence at the Detention Center in March 1972. The questionnaire and tabulated results are reproduced in Appendix B.6. It asked for the students' evaluation of elements of the educational program as either; a) having increased motivation, b) having had a neutral effect, c) suppressed motivation. An open section of the questionniare asked for single open suggestions for materials or methods most needed in the students' opinion. The results of the questionnaire led to the following observations.

Art materials and aesthetics. The strong feelings (highest total negativism expressed about art materials) correlates with the author's observed incidence of great pleasure or frustration with these media. The young persons' expectations are often far from their ability to produce and this is most graphically seen in art. The particularly strong (33%) reaction against three dimensional work with free form materials (clay) shows that here the gap between conception and satisfactory execution is quite significant. The greater relative popularity of poster work may be attributed to the use of

stencils for lettering, rulers and compasses which give a certain form to the work which few devices in clay can.

The marked ambivalence for three dimensional materials (approximately 40%) versus the 67% positive factor for two dimensional materials may indicate the greater satisfaction possible within the confines of media which offer control without dictating content. The indicated popularity of India Ink sets can be attributed to the use of these sets for tattooing, a favorite hobby not necessarily related to the educational aspects of the medium.

Reading materials. The marked lack of negative responses (less than 20% in all areas) to reading materials may be referred to the fact that the youth were permitted to choose whatever they wished to read. Therefore, materials were not forced upon them which they might have found frustrating. If the students found a book too difficult, they could simply put it down and be done with it. An art project once undertaken could not be so rejected without first experiencing a certain amount of frustration at the unsatisfactory effort expended. The most popular item, magazines, combine graphics with words so that a great deal of meaning can be inferred and particularly difficult words made more likely to be understood in context.

The request for books about psychology reflects a concern for self-knowledge and analysis. Ironically, the rather subjective observation might be made that the most despised person on the institution's staff was the psychologist.

Projects. Again, the almost complete lack of negative reaction may be attributed to the degree of self-choice and direction given to the students in the selection of projects. The negative reaction of some to the mechanics projects might again show how students begin a work with certain expectations (usually analysis of the internal combustion engine on a comprehensive scale) and find the work beyond their capabilities. The materials available may have contributed to this as they were far more verbal than pictorial in design.

The great popularity of the murals may be seen as the ability to physically change the institution in which the young persons had been involuntarily placed.[6]

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[6]R. McVicar, " Confessions of a Criminal, " The Times, 18 May 1973. " By the afternoon, I was so cold that I had no choice to act, and once I did I was glad, whatever the risk. I ran along the railway track for about a half a mile, where I came to a gamekeeper's hut. Inside, everything had been smashed up by vandals, who had inscribed their initials on the walls in tar - an impotent assertion of the right to change something once in their lives. "

People. The low level of ambivalent reactions may emphasize the degree of involvement inherent in person to person contact. The positive ratings for the teacher and the volunteer tutors may also indicate their ability to relate to the young persons in a more constructive way than those on the institutional staff with a more custodial role. Whether this is a function of institutional roles or personal capabilities is not ascertainable from this study. The slightly higher popularity of the volunteer tutors may indicate that someone not perceived as connected with the institution may be in the best position to develop motivation for learning.

Planning. From the author's personal observation as well as from this result, the young persons' desire to have the school room available throughout the day on an open schedule is most pronounced.

A second source of evaluation of the program, however unreflected, is provided by the curricula produced by the young persons of their own volition and presently in use at the Detention Center. Almost all the language arts activities being used at the Detention Center (crosswords, reading cards, games) were developed by the young persons in residence. Many parts of the institution have been decorated with elaborate murals by the students themselves. This self-direction of curricula has continued

since the departure of the first, pilot group of young offenders and after the departure of the author.

The third source of evaluation of the program is provided by experts in the field of education and delinquency. Reports by Mr. T. McFalls, Executive Director of the United Community Services of Pittsfield Massachusetts and Dean D. Allen of the University of Massachusetts School of Education are reproduced in Appendix B.7. These and other educational specialists who visited the institution from 1970 to 1972 commented on the appropriateness of the curricula to the constraints of the institution, the motivation demonstrated by the students, and the relevance of the program to the larger questions of social rehabilitation and development. Dean Allen of the School of Education particularly noted the effect on motivation.[7]

> ...helping students to develop a more favorable orientation toward the process of education, giving them an opportunity to inventory their strengths and weaknesses, to discover talents that they have not had an opportunity previously to develop, and to further provide opportunities to remediate skills and to develop new interests and to sustain programs where they bring with them the motivation to do so.

The educational program developed at the Detention Center can be viewed as a positive attempt at eliciting

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[7]D. Allen, excerpt from a letter to Dr. Jerome Miller, Commissioner of the Department of Youth Services, 10 February 1972.

student response and application in an environment that historical examination had showed to be one of isolation, repression and failure. That the students actually designed and produced their own materials, requested more personnel and materials of their own volition, indicates the potentialities of self-directed and informal curricula in the institutional setting.

The following chapter provides a more theoretical basis for the necessity of self-directed curricula by an examination of the nature and effects of the terms used in relation to young offenders. Language has been required to encompass and name the technological developments of the twentieth century. It has done so with relative ease. So must it be required to account for the changes in social science and education that increasing juvenile crime, and its remediation, necessitate.

CHAPTER IV

TOWARDS A NEW CURRICULUM DESIGN FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Semantic and Theoretical Considerations

The root of the noun delinquency is the Latin word *delinquem* meaning omitted, faulty, or in arrears. To many linguists, including S.I. Hayakawa, nouns such as 'delinquency' and 'redness' have no existence apart from the English symbol itself which has been assigned to, respectively, repeated social deviancy by a young person or an arbitrary position on the light spectrum.[1] To the Trobriand Islander, or to a being with vision sensitive to only the ultra-violet spectrum, these terms are valid only so long as they refer to a socially and culturally recognized reality, a referent.

But the function of words can transcend such an idealization. Hayakawa, and A. Korzybiski, are two linguists who have particularly addressed themselves to the social effects of language forms and whose work was relevant in the context of this research. Korzybiski pointed out that one must define terms by the reactions, in a social context, which they elicit. These reactions may evolve to a great distance from the original referent.[2]

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[1] S.I. Hayakawa, *Symbol, Status, and Personality* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1958), p. 23.

[2] A. Korzybiski, *General Semantics* (Chicago: Institute of General Semantics Publications, 1941), p. 12.

Korzybiski termed this process one of discovering the "identification reactions" operant in society to semantic units. These reactions, he postulated, were primarily protective in function, against environmental stress. Less frequently, Korzybiski saw them as generative of reactions to alter the actual condition causing the stress. In the former instance, humans protect themselves by proposing that there is an immutable truth behind the semantic generalizations that they make, that there is indeed a perfect delinquent or a perfect redness to which their terms refer. This perfect referent has attributes, certain qualities. Where the referent is a person, those qualities can be internalized by the self-fulfilling prophecy.

Allied to this process is the belief that not only do the connotations of individual terms give insight into the perfect referent, but also that there are immutable categories of such referents. A delinquent is part of the group of 'criminals' or 'lawbreakers.'

An examination of a library in any British or American university indicates the possible social effects of this categorizing, the specialization in juvenile corrections which Mr. Hart referred to in Chapter II

as being particularly criminogenic. The heading of education subdivides into contemporary theory, international aspects, compensatory education. Compensatory education subdivides into education for the handicapped, the dyslexic, the delinquent.

What libraries and linguistic habits have done to perceptions of the problems of delinquency is what in modern mathematics might be termed 'invariance under transformation.'[3] If a figure is drawn of intersecting lines and curves on a rubber sheet and the sheet is subsequently stretched or distorted, the lengths of the lines will change, the angles at which they meet each other will change, the sizes of enclosed areas will change. But certain relationships among the lines will remain 'invariant.' They will not change despite the many transformations. The abstracting of what is invariant through many transformations is the description of what remains constant in spite of apparent drastic changes.

In examining delinquency, what is invariant? What remains constant through the transformations of time, culture and Home Office policy? What are the ongoing realities to which education must be addressed? Are there

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3Hayakawa, Symbol, Status, and Personality, p. 119.

in fact unique delinquent realities which must be accounted for, for which there must be a lexis and a curriculum?

Many analytical works on delinquency consulted deal with the coincidence of factors.[4] Some point to the juxtaposition of certain psychological traits and delinquency, some to low reading scores and delinquency, some to parental income and delinquency. The limitation of such works is that it cannot be proved that poor housing by itself impels a young person to vandalize or that low reading ability necessarily impels a young person to steal. But such diverse factors can be included on a list and as that list lengthens so does the statistical probability of recorded delinquency. Consequently, if the elements to which language can refer to describe that situation, if the realities of the delinquent situation are sought, more than isolated coincidences are required.

Temporarily laying aside some common linguistic identification reactions, let the causative possibility of the term 'environment' be considered in this context. In using such a term, attention must be paid to the identification reaction. 'The environment' is an emotive term. It has become part of an acrimonious public debate

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[4]E.M. Schur, Labelling Delinquent Behavior: Its Sociological Implications (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 36.

over the causes of delinquency. It has been used to refer to a list of certain single factors, exterior to the individual, which impel the individual to break the law.[5] Some politicians and correctional officers have objected to this usage, saying that it discounts the responsibility of the individual and permits license. But if the term can refer to the exterior and interior surroundings in which the development of the self takes place, a new concept of causation emerges. The development of the self is arbitrated at various levels by the functioning of personality structure, using perhaps Freud's conceptualization of the ego and the superego. The development of individual potential, impelled by the will, is warped, facilitated, blocked, enhanced or abandoned by such structures, by the environment. Most psychologists concur that humans will to grow, to speak, to assign symbols and to decode symbols. Humans will to experience affection and control. They will to develop a vast multitude of aspects in the human genotype. What might be called a good environment (exterior and interior) facilitates this development without overly impinging on the development of others in the social group. A bad environment retards this development or promotes it at the expense of others.

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[5]D.J. West and D.P. Farrington, Who Becomes Delinquent (London: Heinimann and Company, 1973), p. 34.

Breaking the laws of a society may, in most cases, be regarded as indicative of a bad environment. Someone is developing at the expense of others. A delinquent is commonly known by his or her breaking of the law and the proof of such a violation before a judge. The referrent of the term delinquent is some young person who has broken the law. And yet over fifty percent of citizens in the United States and Great Britain break the law sometime before the age of eighteen.[6] Are all delinquents? No, the term obviously has an identification reaction, other social connotations which condition its use. These connotations include a young person who shows consistent disrespect for public authority and personal property, who demonstrates a taste for rebellious art or clothes, who fails in school.

Does this identification reaction correspond to reality? Obviously there are real young persons who steal cars and drop out of school. But what is being identified, labelled, is the area where their development infringes upon the development of others, where their environment has been unsuccessful in balancing their and others' interests. There is not a category of person whose entire essence is that of a car thief. What are the realities in the environment of some young persons which have blocked one or

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[6]R.W. Winslow, Juvenile Delinquency in a Free Society (Belmont, California: Dickerson Publishing Company, 1968).

several aspects of their development? The possibility of a determinant typology of physique (Lombroso), of interior or physical environment, has been discounted. The cephalic index may be causative of hat size but not of delinquency. Another possibility, measured intelligence, is being regarded with increasing scepticism. A large majority of young lawbreakers indeed do poorly on the Stanford-Binet, but such tests may have a cultural bias obscuring their worth.

In reaction to the nineteenth century attitude that incomplete moral instruction or incomplete moral internalization (its twentieth century equivalent) causes delinquency, the attitude of E. Friedenberg is noteworthy.[7]

> I think the youngsters who drop out of school are probably, in many ways, a more promising moral resource than those who stay in. I think that such youngsters, often called delinquents, are driven out in part by moral revulsion from the middle class life of the school. They could never, themselves, identify their feelings as moral repugnance because they view morality as being on the side of the enemy and therefore square; they imagine they dislike morality and have never allowed themselves to realize that they have morals of their own. They don't have a complete moral system because they are not systematic, they are unprincipled in their behavior because principles are too abstract for them to handle.

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[7]E.Z. Friedenberg, "An Ideology of School Withdrawal," Commentary, Vol.35 (June 1963): pp. 492-500.

Again, what can be selected as a constant referrent for the noun 'delinquent'? Parental income and reading test scores are two quantifiable indicators of the environment. These two aspects may be selected because they are part of the structures which condition the relation of the internal self with the outer world. Parental income regulates what a child may or may not eat, where a child may live and in what degree of privacy, what career expectations the child may internalize via parental example.

The child's measured ability to read directly influences the rate of progress in school, the pursuit of personal interests, the estimation of self-worth as reinforced by teachers, peers and parents. Both these factors are at once demonstrative indices of the success of the environment which the self wills to develop within.

In 1958, the National Children's Bureau of Great Britain began its work on a birth cohort for a single week in England, Scotland and Wales. The Bureau's second report was published in 1972.[8] The participation estimate for the entire study was ninety-eight percent of all children born in Great Britain during that given week. Therefore, the in-

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[8]"From Birth To Seven," The Second Report of the National Child Development Study (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972.)

formation provided on the development of these children over a period of eleven years is as comprehensive for any given society as can be expected.

The children's parents were divided, for the purpose of the study, into five groups. These groups were called "Social Classes One through Five"[9] and were graded according to the salary of the father (or the wage earner in the case of single parent families). Social Class One included those with the highest salaries; university graduates, private or public administrators. The gradation continued accordingly to Class Five, the most lowly paid; unskilled manual workers. Charts showing the relations between parental income (Social Class), other environmental structures, and reading test scores (Southgate Reading Test) are reproduced in appendix A. 13. They show clearly how the probability of success in reading follows the rise, or fall, of parental income.[10]

One of the charts shows how parental income relates similarly to a reading readiness activity, the copying of designs. Copying designs is a fine motor skill, the type most frequently blocked by living in a confined space with little opportunity to work in privacy.[11]

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[9]Ibid, p. 6.

[10]Ibid, p. 18.

[11]Ibid, p. 104 (Copying Designs Test, Matrix 4, University of Liverpool Institute of Education).

The text of the Birth to Seven report presented other analyses of the relation of income to motor processes involved in reading readiness.[12] There were consistent class trends in these and other analyses of basic developmental processes. The work of D.C. Ross has helped to relate such trends to delinquency. In The Psychobiology of Underachievement, Ross demonstrated how a child exposed to the environmental stress of working class life is severely restriced in terms of fine motor and cognitive development. This restriction inhibits success at school and is, in Ross' opinion, the jumping-off point for the truancy to delinquency syndrome.[13]

Mr. Harrower in Who Comes to Court has recorded a seventy-five percent incidence of young delinquents with more than two years retardation on the Gray Oral Reading Test.[14] M. Margolin and others have similarly found that many children enter school with a characteristic lack of learning readiness and an equally characteristic readiness to discharge hostility when frustrated. The school,

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[12]D.C. Ross, "The Psychobiology of Underachievement," The Teachers' College Record Vol. 72, No. 2 (December 1970.)

[13]Ibid.

[14]M. Harrower, "Who Comes to Court?" American Journal of Orthopsychiatry Vol 25, No. 15 (1955.)

by virtue of its curricula and processes, confronts the child of low socio-economic level with a new set of frustrating experiences which, in some ways, realistically confirm an already distorted picture of authority and precipitate anti-authoritarian acts, delinquency.[15]

Critchley and Fendrick, among others, have also presented very high statistical evidence of reading disability amongst young persons convicted of crimes.[16] They have both commented on the generative nature of reading disability in relation to dysfunction in society.

Yet every child from "Social Class Five" who cannot read hasn't been convicted of a crime. Success in or with other environmental structures may mitigate. But the percentage of poor readers amongst those arrested is so high as to make reading retardation part of the referrent for the term 'criminogenic blockage.'

Another structure which helps select those young persons who appear in court is suggested by economist B. Fleisher. In The Economics of Delinquency Fleisher presents the following chart illustrating the co-

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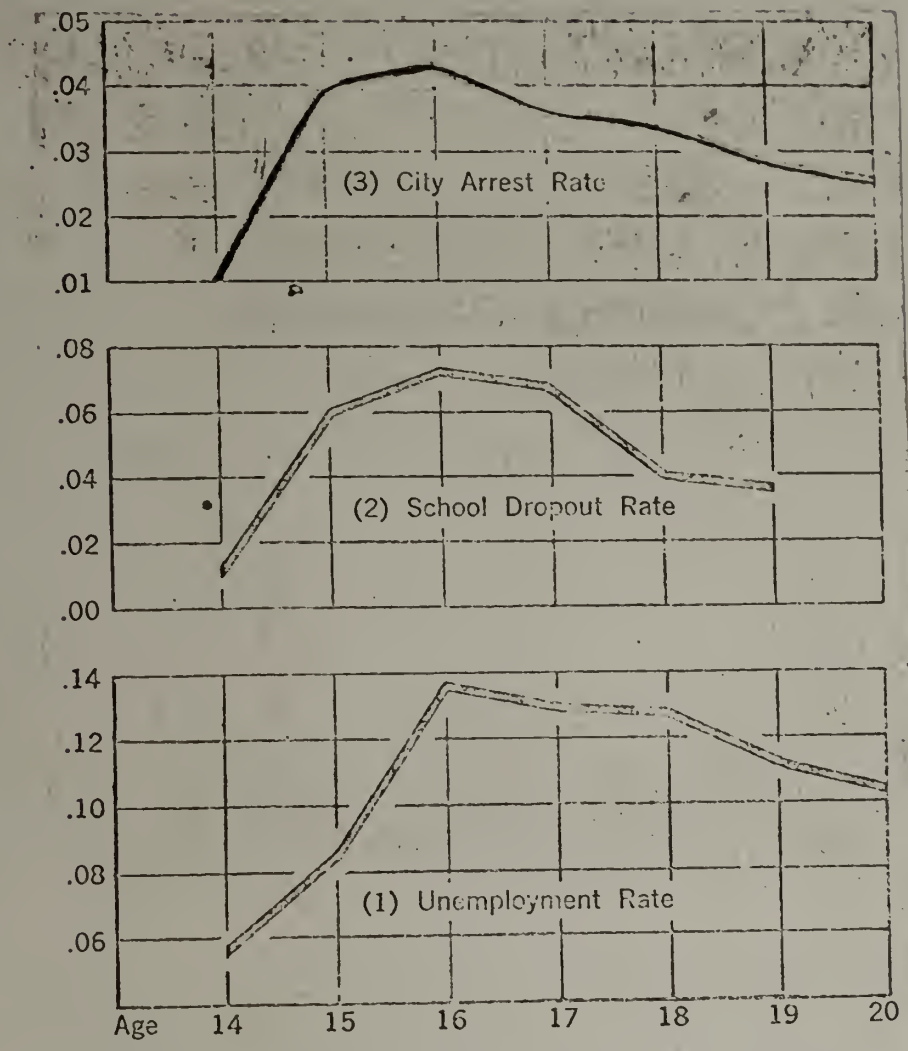
[15] M. Margolin et al, "Reading Disability and the Delinquent Child," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry Vol. 25, No. 25 (1955.)

[16] E.M.R.Critchley, "Reading Retardation, Dyslexia, and Delinquency," British Journal of Psychiatry Vol. 115, No. 1537 (1968.); P. Fendrick, "Delinquency and Reading," Journal of Genetic Psychology Vol. 48: pp. 236-243.

incidence of crime, dropping out of school, and unemployment.[17]



SOURCES: (1) Unemployment rate for males in the civilian labor force: twenty largest SMSA's, 1960 *Census of Population*. (2) Change in proportion of males not enrolled in school who have not completed at least twelve years of school: cities in twenty largest SMSA's, 1960 *Census of Population* (dropout in age 14 = proportion not enrolled at 15 less proportion at 14). (3) See Table 12.

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[17] B. Fleisher, The Economics of Delinquency (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1960), p. 80.

The relationship demonstrated there needs little elaboration. A young American or British male, aged sixteen, from a low socio-economic background, unable through reading disability to continue in school, facing unemployment, is as near to being caused to steal (petty theft accounting for over 60% of all delinquent violations[18]) as one can be caused to commit any single act.

The will to decode and apply the symbols of society has been either blocked by inattention to a possible perceptual handicap or the possibility of developing reading related fine motor skills has been blocked by lack of amenities and space in the home. The will to have a comprehensible future and the satisfaction of achievement have been blocked by unemployment. The will to experience affection within society has been blocked by the negative self-concept internalized by the slow learner in the educational institutions.

Consequently, alternative developmental strategies have been employed, ways around the blockages have been found. R. Merton's paradigm, in this context, views crime as an innovating reaction to anomie, the dysfunction or unpredictability of structures.[19] Social recognition and status are achieved by outlandish, unlawful acts. The

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[18]Winslow, Juvenile Delinquency in a Free Society, p.3.

[19]R.K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957).

material satisfaction of self-provision, or the temporary illusion of it, is achieved by stealing. Reading is achieved by developing the personality skill of persuading people to lend assistance, feigning the loss of spectacles for example.

Where these achievements overlap the environment of others, they may lead to criminal acts. But in this sense, it is the blockages in the individual's environment which are criminogenic. Returning to the question of the definition of delinquency, a change must be made. Delinquent, meaning one who has ommitted or been lacking, can no longer be applied to most of the young persons who appear in detention centers and reform schools. What has been lacking has been a proper functioning of their environment. This is not to ascribe criminality to a semantic function and absolve the individual of all responsibility. A car has been stolen or someone has been mugged. But what element in this situation must we label as necessary of correction?

When social, institutional and personal structures warp the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness, they are delinquent in relation to our principles. When these structures impel alternative, illegal strategies, they are criminogenic.

The referrent for the term 'delinquent' must be that which is constant, unchanging, standing out on the twisted rubber sheet of mathematical shapes. Since at least the time of Mary Carpenter, the structures of economic disenfranchisement and educational unresponsiveness, to single out two in a delinquent environment, have given the will few developmental paths save that to the dock. Such structures are criminogenic, such structures are the 'delinquents.'

But what of the young person who steals a car or assaults a teacher? What word or phrase may be used to describe that person? The term must have a referrent, a referrent with some degree of permanence so that the term may be incorporated into language. It must be a term which gives more information, has more connotations than that of car thief or mugger. There is more to be described in one's phenotype than the singular anti-social act which violates a law. The term 'deprived' has been employed with this intention, but the function of the delinquent environment is more actively warping than that implies, it is more dynamic. It doesn't just deprive, it vastly increases the probability of compensatory action, it impels. The will is being actively frustrated in the delinquent environment, the potential self is being <u>oppressed</u>.

In 1968, a Brazilian educator named Paulo Friere wrote Pedagogy of the Oppressed.[20] The book analyzed the interior and exterior environment of poor Brazilians, demonstrating how psychic and political structures around them, their environs, were preventing the pursuit of life and liberty. Their environment was systematically oppressing the full development of their human potential. Obviously the people he dealt with lived in a different culture, a culture foreign to that of the United States and Great Britain. Perhaps their institutions and national aspirations were not founded, even ostensibly, on the principle of life and liberty for all. But whatever the guiding principle of their development, the environmental structures that they encountered bear a striking resemblance, insofar as they are presented by Friere, to the environmental structures in which many young persons in more technologically advanced societies must attempt to grow up.

Friere proposed strategies, or considerations, to be employed in the education of all oppressed people. More precisely, and with deliberate intent, he proposed considerations to be used with oppressed people. That his considerations dealt mostly with language study (reading,

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[20]Paulo Friere, Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: The Seabury Press, 1968).

writing, decoding and dialogue) makes them all the more relevant to oppressed individuals in a population noted for its high incidence of illiteracy and retardation in language skills.

Friere states as axiomatic the principle that in encountering persons whose society has denied them the opportunity of participation, the educator must choose between presenting prescriptions and presenting choices.[21] The students must not simply spectate, they and the teacher must act together. Before any steps may be taken, and as any steps are taken, the educator must view the process as "co-intentional."

> Teachers and students, co-intent on reality, are both Subjects, not only in the task of unveiling that reality, and thereby coming to know it critically, but in the task of re-creating that knowledge. As they attain this knowledge of reality through common reflection and action, they discover themselves as its permanent re-creators.[22]

This attitude may be contrasted to the following passage from "Birth to Seven."[23]

> Boys in general and working class boys in particular are at higher risk at the school age in terms of their emotional and social adjustment. There are implications in these results for the training of teachers, psychologists, psychiatrists, pediatricians, and social workers who are professionally concerned with children.

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[21]Ibid, p. 19.

[22]Ibid, p. 56.

[23]"From Birth to Seven," p. 149.

The attitude shown in the transition between these two passages is indicative of the attitude of many persons connected with delinquency. This attitude is that what is needed is better training, better programs, better ideas to be prescribed and applied by the enfranchised professionals on to the festering wounds of the disenfranchised. The question, it may be suggested, is not one of a specialized cure, but of basic control.

The literature and research of education and criminology contain cures, techniques, proposals for more professional intervention. Since Victorian times in Great Britain, the uplifting of the masses (particularly the criminal young) has been the province of everyone but those masses themselves. Friere's pedagogy is based on participation. Education, to follow its etymological origin, is the process of leading out. Friere suggests that the oppressed must primarily lead themselves out. One of the devices proposed by Friere for this is the dialogical encounter.[24]

> Liberating education consists in acts of cognition, not transferrals of information. It is a learning situation in which the cognizeable object (far from being the end of the cognitive act) intermediates the cognitive actors - teacher on one hand and student on the other. Dialogical relations are indispensable to the capacity of cognitive actors to cooperate in perceiving the same cognizeable object.

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[24]Friere, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, p. 16.

This process returns to the student the right to name his own world, his own problems. An oppressed student can also facilitate this process for his neighbor more easily than a teacher brought in from outside.[25] The learning or re-definition of terms in a group gives to that group the opportunity to relate the words to their own referrents, to decide what education or development or success mean to them, not to someone else. Once these terms, these intermediaries between their selves and their environment have been e established and the referrents agreed upon, then progress can begin. These re-defined terms must be seen to have concrete referrents if the educatinn of the oppressed is to be successful. The curricula must initially be of their own making and to their direction.

At this point, a distinction must be made in relation to the age of the students. To involve the very young in curriculum planning, in the setting of objectives, in the definition of terms, may not be always practical. And yet it is at the very beginning of formal education that the criminogenic nature of some educatinnal systems is the most virulent. It must then be the parents, community leaders, and sympathetic professionals who ensure, together, that the education

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[25]Ibid, p. 60.

maximizes the development of human potential, that it will indeed lead out of the environmental blockages instead of merely compensating for them.

To the more mature student, particularly the student who has broken the law, the reality of oppression will be known if not necessarily understood. To this student, the environment must be presented not as a static, given reality with someone else's referrents for its terms, but as a problem to be solved, a reality to be named and developed. Unless this is done, education will remain prescriptive and static, continuing to enhance the structures of oppression. The teacher must recognize this and accept its consequences.

In order to facilitate the making of choices and the naming of what is educational by the students themselves, many devices may be used. Friere suggests dialogical methods for the definition of terms and the development of language competency.

It is possible for these methods to focus on the environment of the detention center as the problem to be solved. Historically, the problem was viewed by the staff of such institutions as being the individual defects of the young offenders. They successively saw the deficiencies as ones of religious instruction, personal morality, individual intelligence, unique physchological

traits. Chapter II and part of chapter III catalogue the diverse attempts that reformers made to find solutions to those perceived problems. However, the perspective of history showed that only the perceived deficiencies changed, only the perception changed, not the behavior or socio-economic origins of the young offenders. Thus this chapter began with an attempt to relate their behavior and socio-economic origins to the words society has referred to them with. Such relations were found to be incompatible.

The young offender may have indeed committed violent or destructive acts, but it is his or her environment which is semantically and functionally delinquent. The young offender is a person who has, in response to the delinquent environment, undertaken socially unacceptable behavior. That behavior must change. But, as Paulo Friere and the inmates of the Westfield Detention Center showed, that change must be made by the teacher and student acting together. The teacher must not view the student as an object to be remedied, as in times past, but as a co-participant in the remedying of the delinquent environment. The particular environment here selected for remediation is the detention center. The wirtten and oral shaping of its curriculum may also help remedy the verbal blockages of many young persons. The following section presents devices, "filters," which the students and teacher may use towards this goal.

Provisions for Self-Directed Curricula

The following filters are intended to provide the young persons in detention centers with an opportunity to evaluate curricula and to suggest, name, their own alternatives. The primary historical perspective developed in this research was that of the exclusion of young offenders themselves from participation in not only basic social structures but also from the shaping of the programs in correctional institutions allegedly designed for them. Therefore the element of effective participation is essential. It is incumbent upon the teacher in an institution for delinquents to see that 'co-intentionality,' to use Friere's term, take precedence over any academic or didactic function. From the author's experience and the observations of others, such 'co-intentional' participation is the cornerstone of motivation.

However, the teacher employing these filters and assuming the attitude developed in the last chapter must do so in a spirit of overall enquiry. The results of offender participation in education are recent and have not been examined over a long period. In this spirit of enquiry, the following counterpoint is presented.

> Good education is not enough for the children who hate, it's not enough to cure them. Rather the reverse is closer to the truth; in order for a good educational diet to take hold of these children at all, their basic ego disturbances must be repaired first.[26]

> The basic assumption upon which this program is built is the non-literate child's desperate need for language competence. The child who cannot understand oral and written directions becomes the adult who cannot hold any job above the level of the simplest manual labor or household drudgery; in a technology characterized by decreasing individual labor, such jobs become more and more difficult to find. Furthermore, and equally important, since partially literate children cannot depend upon a language they cannot use, they must depend upon other means of expression - force for example - which they are sure they can use. Perhaps if we give them language, they will give up some of the wordless violence which they use as a megaphone to communicate with a world which they cannot reach in any other way.[27]

The following filters have been designed for use by teachers and students in juvenile detention centers. It is assumed that the median length of stay in such an institution will be two weeks. It is assumed that the young person will not be in an ideally receptive frame of mind nor emotionally prepared to spend regular hours involved in developmental curricula.

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[26] F. Redly and C. Wineman, Children Who Hate (Illinois: Glencoe Free Press, 1961), p.242.

[27] D. Fader and E. McNeil, Hooked on Books (New York: Berkeley Medallion Books, 1968), p. 75.

Given the pressures of incarceration, the uncertainty of a pre-trial situation and a great range in abilities, age, and interests, the following filters intend to meet two objectives. The first objective is to increase the students participation in the choice of materials. The second objective is to increase the students' motivation to read, draw and enquire on their own.

It is hoped that skills in reading, computation, and organization will be strengthened by use of this material, but no specific provision for the development of such skills is made in light of the aforementioned limitations. Prior to asking a group or individual to fill out any of these filters, it is crucial that they be told that the results (which can be compiled by them as well) will be used as criteria for purchasing materials for the institution. If at all possible, the teacher should organize payment and delivery procedures well in advance so that a youth in residence for two weeks may see the results of his work delivered and made available.

The one to five numerical scale was chosen to facilitate an overall quantitative evaluation of curricula. Over a period of time, students could graph a numerical function for the institution and relate this to variables of their choice.

Language arts filter.

What: All language arts materials in the institution's school or library.

By Who: Any teacher or young person in residence.

How: This form is to find out what we have and how useful you think it is. If you find that we have nothing in one of these areas or that what we have is useless, please circle the numeral 1. If what we have is excellent, and you think that nothing more is needed, please circle the numberal 5. If your opinion is in between, please circle the numeral 1 2 3 4 5 that best represents your opinion.

a) magazines	1 2 3 4 5
b) comics	1 2 3 4 5
c) newspapers	1 2 3 4 5
d) number of copies available	1 2 3 4 5
e) range of topics	1 2 3 4 5
f) paperback books	1 2 3 4 5
g) readability factor[28]	1 2 3 4 5

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[28]A notice on the wall of the schoolroom with the title "Readability Factor" is suggested. The notice should explain that in looking over a book prior to beginning it, the student might use the following test to see if the book is too difficult. He starts by reading on any page of the book. Upon finding an unknown word, he puts a finger on it. If all ten fingers are employed before the page is completed, then the book is too difficult and another one should be checked out. As a rough check for most reading material, this saves many false starts.

h) dictionaries 1 2 3 4 5

i) encyclopediae 1 2 3 4 5

j) reference books 1 2 3 4 5

k) up to date 1 2 3 4 5

l) accessible 1 2 3 4 5

m) enough copies 1 2 3 4 5

p) Please write in two topics or particular books, magazines, that you would like to see more of.

Aesthetics filter.

What: Any art project, painting, sculpture, drawing, modelling done in the institution.

By Whom: Any young person in residence.

How: Please grade the following activities and materials. If you were completely satisfied with the result of the project, circle the numeral 5. If you thought the material was useless, circle the numeral 1. If your opinion is in between, please circle the numeral 1 2 3 4 5 that best represents your opinion.

Painting.

a) brushes 1 2 3 4 5

b) paper 1 2 3 4 5

c) paints 1 2 3 4 5

d) light and workspace 1 2 3 4 5

e) stencils, rulers 1 2 3 4 5

f) subjects proposed 1 2 3 4 5

Plastic arts.

g) clay 1 2 3 4 5

h) mobiles 1 2 3 4 5

i) models 1 2 3 4 5

j) subjects proposed 1 2 3 4 5

Sources of Ideas Beside your Own.

k) the teacher 1 2 3 4 5

l) magazines 1 2 3 4 5

m) posters 1 2 3 4 5

n) art books 1 2 3 4 5

o) other persons 1 2 3 4 5

p) Please write down two projects or types of materials that you would like to see more of.

Expressive filter.

What: Any material, project, or person in the institution that helped you express an idea, design, or impression.

By Whom: Any young person in residence.

How: This form is to determine what helps you express yourself. Please circle the numeral from 1 (doesn't help you at all) to 5 (helps you express exactly what you want, perhaps in a new and better way) that best represents your opinion.

Oral expression.	1 2 3 4 5
a) tape recorder	1 2 3 4 5
b) group discussion	1 2 3 4 5
c) individual talks with the teacher	1 2 3 4 5
d) individual talks with other students	1 2 3 4 5
e) plays	1 2 3 4 5
Visual expression.	
f) posters, drawing, painting	1 2 3 4 5
g) collages	1 2 3 4 5
h) photography	1 2 3 4 5
Kinesthetic expression.	
i) sculpture	1 2 3 4 5
j) models and kits	1 2 3 4 5
k) puppets	1 2 3 4 5
l) dance	1 2 3 4 5
Written expression.	
m) personal journal	1 2 3 4 5
n) poetry	1 2 3 4 5
o) letters	1 2 3 4 5

p) Please write in two methods of expression which we don't have or which you would like to use more often.

Evaluation filter (students).

What: All educational activities within the institution.

By Whom: All young persons in residence.

How: This form is to find out what parts of our

educational program are of value to you and which are not. Our primary concern is to find out what interests you and to help you work at it and inquire about it. For each of the following items, please circle the numeral between 1 (didn't help you at all or even turned you off) and 5 (made you want to study, inquire, or express more) which best represents your opinion.

The place.

a) lighting 1 2 3 4 5

b) layout of the school room 1 2 3 4 5

c) chairs/desks 1 2 3 4 5

d) display of books/materials 1 2 3 4 5

e) decorations 1 2 3 4 5

f) bulletin boards and mural space 1 2 3 4 5

Time.

g) school hours 1 2 3 4 5

h) other study or quiet time 1 2 3 4 5

i) length of lessons/breaks 1 2 3 4 5

People.

j) the teacher 1 2 3 4 5

k) volunteers 1 2 3 4 5

l) other members of staff 1 2 3 4 5

m) other students 1 2 3 4 5

Organization.

n) informal lessons, discussions 1 2 3 4 5

o) regular lessons, lectures, assignments 1 2 3 4 5

p) Please state two methods, people, or materials which you would use more of to increase the value of this educational program to you.

Evaluation filter (teachers).

What: The educational program of the institution.

By Whom: Any teacher, volunteer tutor.

How: This form is to find out what parts of the program are helpful to your expectations as a teacher, as someone concerned with broadening and strengthening the learning capabilities of the students in residence, and which parts are inimical to the kind of instruction you believe to be wortwhile. Please circle the numeral from 1 (inhibits or frustrates you as a teacher) to 5 (fulfills your expectations completely) which best represents your opinion.

Availability of materials.

a) books 1 2 3 4 5

b) magazines, newspapers 1 2 3 4 5

c) art materials 1 2 3 4 5

d) machinery (typewriters, tape recorders) 1 2 3 4 5

e) stationery 1 2 3 4 5

e) stationery 1 2 3 4 5

f) programmed instruction kits, worksheets 1 2 3 4 5

Involvement of other staff. 1 2 3 4 5

g) supervisory staff 1 2 3 4 5

h) psychological services 1 2 3 4 5

i) administration 1 2 3 4 5

Administration.

j) your personal freedom to select curricula 1 2 3 4 5

k) your personal freedom to introduce volunteers and resource persons 1 2 3 4 5

l) institutional schedule 1 2 3 4 5

m) physical plant available (space, lights) 1 2 3 4 5

n) institutional rules about possessions 1 2 3 4 5

o) institutional rules about display of work 1 2 3 4 5

p) Please write down two resources or methods which you would like to introduce or use to a greater extent.

Further suggestions for the use of filters. Students in an institution may be encouraged to design their own evaluation, perhaps using the foregoing as an example or a pilot test. Prove a framework for the application of its results.

As mentioned on page 126, correlate the numerical score of the filters to such variables as the size of the institutional budget for the relevant period. Such

correlations could also provide material for a mathematics unit on graphs. For each institution and program, there will also be unique "unobtrusive measures" which may be incorporated into selection procedures for curricula. The following are suggested examples of such measures appropriate to the detention center. As probably (and hopefully) the teacher will never meet the students again, the main evaluative criterion may be the physical evidence left, or not left, behind.

a) A regular inventory of books and materials is suggested. Students seldom take the risk of stealing something they're not interested in.

b) What form does institutional graffiti take? The author found 'love' scratched on the walls and desks of the school rooms roughly five times as often as on the walls of the day room or recreation area.

c) What works (worksheets, art projects) are left in the wastebaskets or the floor and which disappear with the students?

The following section provides practical suggestions specifically for the teacher in a detention center. The role of the teacher in such an institution should not, as previously discussed, be domineering or prescriptive. But neither should it be one of passive observation or non-interference. These suggestions in language and plastic arts and counseling help to define the area between the two

Practical Considerations in Language and Plastic Arts

Suggestions for art projects. In the context of the detention center, art projects have a twofold purpose. First, they permit a wide range of pupils to participate because they do not involve complicated processes of cognition, sequencing, or decoding. Second, art projects may give more visible evidence of the individual's influence on the institution. A mural or poster is a more easily recognizable change in the environment compared to a poem or an essay. This is not so much a comment on the personal satisfaction obtained from aesthetic or linguistic activity as on the effect on group attitude.

Art work may have unfavorable connotations for some young persons in detention which the teacher must be aware of. It is incumbent upon the teacher to be supportive of artistic expression without being overly analytical. Many students have had experience with their art work being used in psychological diagnosis. Therefore, a great concern with interpretation or supposedly hidden meaning may well provoke a hostile reaction or withdrawal on the part of the student. Positive reinforcement is necessary but must not be of a mechanical or shallow nature. Students who have been unsuccessful at school are often quite inured to patronizing comments on their work.

The teacher is therefore advised to become familiar with several basic terms of reference for commenting on art. Terms such as 'perspective,' 'strength of line,' 'use of color,' 'symbolic content,' and 'neatness' may be employed and a brief explanation of each incorporated into a poster for display. The teacher should keep in mind that such evaluation concerns the form and not the content of the work.

If the student has no objection, display the work wherever and whenever possible. After a project has been displayed for a time, students will begin to criticize their own work. At such a time, more specific technical lessons in art may be proposed, but not before. The will to expand and perfect must first be demonstrated by the student.

Possible vocational extensions of art work may be suggested to encourage interested students. Decorative art, design, advertising, television and stage set production all offer vocational opportunities.

For initially reluctant students, little verbal encouragement is recommended. Simply place the available materials out on a table, perhaps hanging some contemporary posters on the walls around. Another strategy is to put out the materials necessary for making a project such as collages. As the students become accustomed

to combining pictures from various sources, other materials may be included such as vinyl, wood, wool and beads, to deversify the texture of the collage. Once the collage effort has been made, it may be a less threatening transition to direct personal creation in pencil, ink, paint or other media.

An important consideration in planning art projects is the space available. Four distinct areas are necessary. One area is required for storage of materials. A cupboard including shelves and drawers is recommended. A second area is required for display. Empty walls are seldom hard to find in a detention center but a safe place for showing three-dimensional works should be provided beforehand. A third area is required for work. Large tables in a well-lit position, free from traffic, are recommended. A fourth requirement is a cleaning area for brushes, tools, and the drying of work without risk of damage.

The question of dangerous materials invariably arises in a residential institution. Noxious rubber cement, pointed scissors, turpentine are materials to be closely watched although not necessarily banned. The obvious absence of such materials may cause more ill-feeling and friction than the risk of harmful use warrants. It is suggested to maintain a close, but unobtrusive, watch on

such materials and to withdraw their use only after abuse has taken place. To withdraw them initially and explain why, or to keep them out and ostentatiously call for care are practices which only invite problems. Assume that young persons in a detention center will comport themselves with such materials as would any other young person outside an institution. Act only when proved wrong or when someone's degree of self-control is so blatantly tenuous as to endanger the health of others.

The respect of creativity over control of detail is a further consideration. Young persons in a controlled institution are bound to feel frustrated and alienated. Some of the frustration may be dissipated by creativity and some of the alienation mitigated by the public display of a self-directed work. Again, it is recommended that the teacher be supportive and sincere, candid without being overly critical. The result may be beautiful as well.

Selected references:

"Art for Elementary Schools," The University of the State of New York, the State Education Department, Bureau of Curriculum Development, 1967.

N.J. Grant, Art and the Delinquent (New York: Exposition Press, 1958).

T.J. Pepe, Free and Inexpensive Educational Aids (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1966).

Suggestions for language arts activities. The foremost consideration in planning language arts activities for use in a detention center is motivation. Given the previously discussed incidence of below average reading abilities and failure in the public schools, young persons in short term residential institutions are understandably chary of English classes. In keeping with the idea that the content and direction of English class should come from the students, the detention center teacher's initial role should be one of providing materials. There is more to this than scattering some books out on a table and waiting for them to be chosen. Materials, and machines, can be provided which encourage the student in a variety of ways.

Having a typewriter and a pad of scratch paper always available is an open invitation to someone who would balk at being ordered to sit down and write a letter but who might well begin to write something serious if permitted to tap out a few obscenities first at his or her leisure.

A tape recorder may be used in the same way, although with perhaps more attention to its fragility. A story can of course be related orally as well as in written form. Skills such as sequencing, recall, and diction can be improved by using a tape recorder. Any sensitive personal

revelations or continual blasphemy can be simply erased as wished. The only fine motor skill required to operate the machine is the ability to push a button. If the student wishes to transcribe a recording, the motivation from working on his own material is inherent and more mechanical writing skills may be improved.

Interviews can be conducted within the institution with a tape recorder and similarly transcribed. This can, if done seriously, be a significant contribution to the dialogical encounter and the constructive sharing of experiences and referrents. A library of taped interviews may be organized concerning police practices in a given area, irregularities in court procedure, the activities of truant officers. Such a compilation (whether by tape recorder or typewriter or by hand) is a step in the process of raising group consciousness to the pervasiveness of oppressive structures. In many cases, these structures are suffered in perceived isolation and with little coherent or encoded recall.

Word games also offer an easy introduction when presented for the students' use. A consideration here is to grade the games in terms of attractiveness as well as language mastery. Few young persons will spurn a set of Scribbage dice set out on a piece of green felt. Others

may be inclined and able to begin more complex games such as Scrabble or Monopoly.

Almost all board games are basically language games and therefore appropriate. All involve decoding, following different sets of rules, compiling a score, strategy in various degrees. They present a host of cognitive activities. Commercial board games such as Clue and Secret can be remade by the students in their own terms. The outline of the game may be copied and pasted over the original board. Characters, situations, and goals chosen by the students may be substituted. The making of cards, reprinting the board, and other related activities involve writing and organizational skills. The teacher should not feel censorious about possibly violent, obscene, or iconoclastic material incorporated by the students into such games. Not only is violence, obscenity, and chafing under authority a part of many young persons' environment (an environment they haven't internalized or occupied by choice), but also it is hoped that some of the frustration with that environment may thus be helpfully made light of, felt as an aspect rather than a dominating totality.

The more strictly developmental value of word games varies widely. The crucial factor to be con-

sidered in this respect is whether the game involves the simple recall and use of words already learned (as in Scrabble, Spill and Spell) or whether there is some element in the game which generates new terms.

Creating language activities from scratch can promote word generation. The compiling of puzzles, crosswords, and association games can be undertaken in all aspects by the students. An empty crossword grid or a few sample association patterns may be set out to facilitate the process. However, the terms and definitions employed by the students may have questionable connections from the teacher's point of view. If a group of students strongly agrees on a definition or a referrent, they should not be dissuaded.

With the provision of a typewriter, students may cut their own stencils for the reproduction of language games and exercises. As stencils need only be imprinted and not actually written on, tracing may here be used to some effect. Particularly with graphics, many young persons are quite frustrated when their design does not come up to their expectations. In incorporating graphic elements onto language arts stencils for purposes of decoration or textual inference, figures from virtually any source may simply and successfully be copied.

In conclusion, language arts curriculum intended to motivate those in a closed institution must be in one overall context, that of voluntarism. The activity, whatever it may be, must be entered into willingly by the student. Only upon the experiential base of successful, voluntary participation in an English class will the young person in a detention center begin to address the encoding and decoding dysfunctions that characterize so many of their environments.

Selected references:

D. Bridgman, "Typewriting in Remedial Education," Journal of the National Association for Remedial Education Vol. IV, No. 3 (1969).

J.E. Collins, "The Remedial Education Hoax," Journal of the National Association for Remedial Edcation Vol. III, No. 3 (1972).

H.C. Gunzburg, "Teaching Reading to the Adult Illiterate," Journal of the National Association for Remedial Education Vol. II, No. 3 (1968).

T.D. Johnson, "Use of Games in the Teaching of Reading," Journal of the National Association for Remedial Education Vol. VI, No. 3 (1971).

D.B. Russell, Reading Aids through the Grades (New York: Columbia University Publications, 1964).

D. Stott, Roads to Literacy (Glasgow: Homes Co., 1964).

Suggested sources:

Cambridge House Literacy Scheme, Anthony Hurst, director. 131 Camberwell Road, London, S.E.5.

The Centre for Learning Disabilities, National Society for Mentally Handicapped Children. 86 Newman Street, London, W.1.

The counseling of students with dyslexia and the informal detection thereof. Specific, severe disability in word recognition (dyslexia) is usually resistant to standard remedial measures. Many children with dyslexia remain virtual non-readers in spite of years of remedial work. Dyslexia cases can learn to read, but only if the teacher recognizes the nature and extent of the student's difficulties and uses procedures appropriate for dealing with those difficulties.[29]

Dyslexia, found primarily in boys, reflects great difficulty in some of the associational skills basic to word recognition. Dyslexia is frequently called word blindness and differs from reading retardation due to poor instruction, emotional interference, or poor comprehension. Dyslexia is similar but not identical to alexia, or loss of ability to read resulting from damage to the association areas in and around the left cerebral hemisphere.[30] Dyslexia represents a developmental inefficiency in that it is a learning handicap rather than a traumatic disruption of existing skills.

As it is a developmental inefficiency, it is particularly important that the teacher or psychologist

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[29] N.D. Bryant, Some Principles of Remedial Instruction for Dyslexia (Wellesley, Mass.: The Reading Institute, 1964), p. 2.

[30] Ibid., p. 2.

identify it at an early stage and begin specific remedial activities. If this is not done, the disability engenders a more complete learning dysfunction and the child's overall development is blocked. As it typically occurs in boys of normal intelligence, the frustration with failure is perhaps more intense than that experienced by a less intelligent student. The stress upon the young person may contribute to the criminogenic environment.

Where it is not practicable to employ extensive diagnostic testing, as in a detention center where the feeling of being examined and catalogued is already at a painful extreme, dyslexia can possibly be detected by the informed, unobtrusive observation of students in the process of normal language arts work. Material may be read haltingly and simple errors often made. A word will be known in one sentence and unrecognized in the next. Frequently, the dyslexic student will guess at words on the basis of an initial letter or some other insufficient clue. He may know the names of letters and the sounds of most consonants, but he usually becomes confused in giving vowel sounds. There is usually no difficulty in pronouncing words after hearing them and he can usually blend two or possibly even three sounds when he hears them separately.[31]

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[31] E.A. Betts, "Linguistics and Reading," Education Vol. 86 (1966), pp. 454-458.

Usually associated with the reading difficulties is confusion when quickly identifying left and right. There is a good chance that the dyslexic boy will also be confused about the months, seasons, judgements of time, distance, and size. On general tests of motor development and coordination, he is likely to score low. The dyslexic student is more likely than a normal child to have a speech difficulty and poor auditory discrimination. Last, an almost emotional quality may be noticed. The dyslexic student may appear to be simultaneously disoriented and acutely aware, to be in a haze and intently perceptive. Students exhibiting such a duality (while maintaining a good chance of being, on the other hand, on drugs) are quite likely to have some degree of dyslexia.

Broaching the subject with a student so identified is a process fraught with the possibility of insult and misunderstanding. It is important that the teacher remembers that the young person in detention is likely to have had great experience with school counseling services. It is likely that such help in the past has not been successful.

> Violations of learning principles produce negative learning, confusion, and a sense of failure. Remediation that doesn't help is, in the case of dyslexia, quite likely to be harmful.[32]

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[32]Bryant, Principles of Remedial Instruction, p. 4.

Given this, the correctional teacher should not automatically approach the student and recommend involvement in a reading program upon release. The teacher should first satisfy himself that there is an appropriate program available where the student will most likely live. If such instruction is available, a casual suggestion to drop in and see Mr. X. or Mrs. Y. might be made. Independent contact with Mr. X. or Mrs. Y. at the school is strongly recommended by the teacher.

If such instruction is not available, or if the young person is not returning to a formal school situation, little can be done. Dyslexia requires quite specific and regular attention. Attempting to provide the student with materials for self-help is, in this case, usually counterproductive. The frustration point is reached quite quickly, motivation decreases, negative learning takes place and further disorientation results. Community mental health services may be qualified and in a position to offer help, but the stigma of approaching such agencies is likely to be strong. If, through informal counseling, the teacher can help the student to overcome the stigma, progress may be made.

In conclusion, the preceding filters and suggestions help the teacher in a detention center to base his or her co-participation with the students. Again,

the teacher's role is not prescriptive or strongly didactic, but it requires effort and enthusiasm. To guide a student without using any of the quite available (and tempting) institutional powers of coercion also requires, from the author's experience, great patience.

The filters were based on curriculum selection devices used at the Westfield Detention Center. Such devices were used with enthusiasm by the students. They motivated the students to participate voluntarily and to apply the sometimes quite technical vocabulary in proportion to how much the results actually brought about changes.

The practical considerations grew out of the author's participant observation at the detention center and out of the references mentioned. The considerations are almost solely for the use of the teacher to further his or her function as an integral part of a new learning environment.

C H A P T E R V

SUMMARY

The intention of this research was to provide suggestions for the education of delinquent youth by examining historical and contemporary trends in the United States and Great Britain. The examination uncovered several trends. The history of juvenile corrections has been one of tension between reformers, practitioners, and the young offenders themselves. The reformers, with perhaps the luxury of an independent perspective, have consistently criticized society's handling of delinquents. Always a step ahead of the attitudes of their era, they have proposed more humane treatment in the light of their contemporary religious or moral philosophy. Until quite recently, the only constant element in their critique has been that they have viewed penology, the reform of prisoners, as the province of an enlightened minority.

The practictioners in juvenile corrections, the teachers and managers and officers, have been more directly threatened by the anti-authoritarian behavior of young offenders. As a group, they have sought refuge in institutional practices and defended these practices as synonymous with the needs of the offender. Modern

social science has demonstrated how these two functions are not synonymous. In fact, much contemporary research has indicated that institutional needs are contrary to the needs of young offenders if not actually causative of criminal behavior.

The young offenders' behavior and origins have been in the main constant. Young offenders have been the children of poor people and they have been arrested and detained for crimes because society has presented them with few behavioral options except breaking the law. Excluded from opportunities by the exigencies of a specialized industrial economy, young offenders have been then subjected to specialized rehabilitative programs. They have not been provided with the broad, basic elements necessary for educational and social growth. They have been the sullen, passive subject matter for many dissertations and studies, studies upon which more specialized cures have been based.

The suggestions produced by this research are that those inclined to reform penology in general and juvenile corrections in particular devote their efforts to determining the basic educational potentialities of young persons and that they regard, semantically and operationally, those young offenders as persons first and offenders

second. In that they are young offenders and incarcerated, particular attention must be paid to their sharing in the socially acceptable patterns of goal achievement. This can, in the author's opinion based on historical and contemporary observation, only be done if both student and teacher recognize that the social structure which provides an easier path to success for the verbally competent by definition entails a difficult if not blocked path for the verbally (or economically) handicapped.

Those whose early childhood has been stunted by poverty, racism, or the unresponsiveness of educational institutions to individual learning styles are likely to break the law. The totality of such conditions has herein been named as a criminogenic environment. To reorder such an environment requires the active, motivated cooperation of a person within it. Such cooperation can best develop in a climate of mutuality, respect, and voluntarism.

In a specific instance dealt with, the detention center, institutional realities mitigate against such cooperation. Life and education in detention centers depend upon the turn of a key, a key over which the young person has no control. Any curriculum which intends to involve the young person in a constructive way must center

on this question of control. If the young person does not feel in control of the curriculum it will, irregardless of its content, fall functionally into place with the restrictive social situations which have helped place the young person in a restrictive institution. Where the short length of stay in such an institution precludes elaborate student design of curricula, evaluation and choice can at least be exercised in this regard. To this end, the latter materials in this research were suggested.

In conclusion, approval is in order for the decisions taken and being taken in the United States and Great Britain to close reformatories and find alternative labels for delinquents and juvenile crime. Without the institutions and without the labels, the deeper nature of the problem comes into focus.

Suggestions for Further Research

The point must here be made that further research is a necessity few involved in corrections would discount. However, research in the field has tended in the past to draw away energies and resources from social action. A doctor does little good by experiencing the cancer whose cure he is researching. But the causes of delinquency are sufficiently clear to invalidate the anal-

ogy. Research must move away from isolated observation into closer harmony with practical experimentation, with programs.

The provision of alternative schools, of community homes, of legal services for the poor are all necessities in the current environment. The postponing of their provision only generates more extreme forms of deviancy and prompts more specialized research. In the author's opinion, specialized research in delinquency and education is obsolete. The evolution of advanced technological societies in the United States and Great Britain may well, in the future, present new stresses and dysfunctions which require intensive, particular investigation. For a small number of contemporary young offenders with deep-seated psychiatric disorders, this may also be required. But for the large majority of contemporary youth who commit crimes and populate detention centers, the problem is unequivocal. They require an operational recognition of their individual learning needs and styles. They require the opportunity to actualize their more realistic vocational aspirations. They require homes where they are loved and respected.

If these requirements are not met, juvenile crime will follow its traditional pattern. Research into its

causes by an enfranchised minority will follow its traditional pattern. Researchers must recognize that it is not their conclusions which are now crucial, but their participation.

Such participation would benefit the following areas: a) the development of alternative schools particularly responsive to individual and community needs, b)extension of legal services to families who have been trapped in a poverty cycle, c) the more extensive provision of community treatment programs for young offenders, d) professionally qualified reading and language arts instructors available to the community outside the statutory limits of the public school system, with particular emphasis on perceptual and reading disabilities.

More extensive and applied research in these areas would aid many young persons now growing up in oppressive environments and would hopefully reduce the number of statisticians required to catalogue the incidence of juvenile delinquency.

A P P E N D I X A

Supplementary Materials from British Juvenile Corrections

1. Testimony given to Mary Carpenter by Mr. Cotton, Registrar of Newgate Prison,1845.

I paid great attention to the subject of juvenile delinquency, the enormous increase of crime generally, and of juvenile delinquency in particular. During the time I filled the office several hundreds passed through my observation. I spent much time conversing with them separately and together. The conviction produced upon my mind was that the juvenile delinquents, as a class, were not destitute of education but that on the contrary a very large portion of them had received a considerable degree of instruction.

The returns received from most prisons as to the state of the acquirements and education of young prisoners are to a surprising extent in contradiction to what I believe to be the actual facts of the case. The amount of instruction a child has received when brought into gaol is by no means to be estimated by the answers he gives and the answers the chaplain or instructor obtains. The juvenile classes of thieves are the most subtle, crafty, acute, mendacious body you can possibly imagine. They are perfectly aware that they are now objects of great compassion, that ignorance is supposed to be the cause of their position. For the purpose of the prison returns the question to them is, "Can you read?" "No." "Can you write?" "No." Prisoners recommend themselves to the compassion of the officers of the prison,who place them under the chaplain and the school master of the prison. In the course of a month or two, they acquire a degree of intelligence and a capacity for reading and writing which would seem to show that the prison school far surpasses any other seminary for education that the mind can conceive of, such is the rapidity of their progress.

Put let them get into the world again, and be brought again to prison, the same questions are put to them, "Can you read?" "No." "Can you write?" "No." I have from my earliest been devoted to education, but I am satisfied that the cause of juvenile crime is not the absence of education, and that any education of the children of the labouring classes that is not accompanied with industrial training and their actual employment in manual labour will entirely fail in checking the growth of crime.

2. Photographs of early Dr. Barnardo's children.

2. Photographs of early Dr. Barnardo's children. Reproduced from Valerie Lloyd, "Methods and Motives of Dr. Barnardo," The Times (London, May 18, 1974), p.20.

3. Reverend Clay's Table of the Knowledge of Young Prisoners, reprinted from Mary Carpenter, Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes (London: The Woburn Press, 1851), p. 21.

Religious Knowledge of Young Prisoners	Sessions	Summary
	percentages	
Ignorant of the Saviour's Name and unable to repeat the Lord's Prayer	37.5	37.0
Knowing the Saviour's Name, and able to repeat the Lord's Prayer, more o less imperfectly	51.7	59.0
Acquainted with the elementary truths of religion	10.0	7.6
Possessing that general knowledge level to the capacities of the uneducated ...	.6	.1
Familiar with the Scripture and well instructed	.0	.0
Ignorance of the prisoners on the most ordinary subjects as compared to their direct or indirect acquaintance with demoralizing literature	61.8	60.5
Unable to name the months of the year ...	59.1	59.1
Ignorant of the words, 'virtue,vice,etc.'	61.5	58.4
Unable to count to a hundred	6.8	12.8
Having read or hear read books about Dick Turpin, Jack Shepard and others	52.6	44.0

Whole number of prisoners:
Sessions; Male ... 265
Female . 73
Summary; Male ... 252
Female . 196

4. Excerpt from the Children and Young Persons Act of 1969, Chapter 54. London: H.M.S.O. 1970, p. 12.

If the court before which a child or young person is brought under this section is of the opinion that any of the following conditions is satisfied with respect to him, that is to say-

a) his proper development is being avoidably prevented or neglected or his health is being avoidably impaired or he is being ill-treated; or
b) he is exposed to moral danger; or
c) he is beyond the control of his parent or guardian; or
d) he is of compulsory school age within the meaning of the Education Act of 1944 and is not receiving efficient full-time education suitable to his age, ability, and aptitude; or
e) he is guilty of an offence, excluding homicide,

The order which a court may make under this section in respect of a child or young person is-

a) an order requiring his parent or guardian to enter a recognisance to take proper care of him; or
b) a supervision order; or
c) a care order (other than an interim care order); or
d) a hospital order within the meaning of Part V of the Mental Health Act of 1959; or
e) a guardianship order within the meaning of that Act.

In this section "the local appropriate authority" in relation to a young person means the local authority for the area in which it appears to the informant in question that the young person resides or, if the young person appears to the informant not to reside in the area of the local authority, the local authority in whose area it is alleged that the relevant offence or one of the relevant offences was committed.

5. Interview with Mr. E. Cleever, Magistrates Court, London Borough of Camden, 16 August, 1972.

Q. What, in your opinion, has been the primary result of the 1969 Act?

A. Unfortunately, we have a great number of young offenders roaming the streets. It is as simple as that. I won't say whether their offenses were motivated by self-interest or a poor environment, whether there should be juvenile courts or not. The fact is that they have been convicted of crimes and with no change in how or where they live. By cutting off our recourse to the approved schools, the law has been undermined.

Q. What, in your opinion, has been the effect of the various community based treatment schemes run by the local authorities to which young offenders are referred in lieu of a reformatory sentence?

A. Well these programs are diverse, but it is fairly easy to generalize about their effect. I would say that over fifty percent of young persons on whom I make a care order to these local authorities return here within the year, some within the month. There is just no bone in the order. If a young person doesn't like the treatment that the local authority provides, he is under no compulsion to continue to participate. Once he makes that decision, it's only a matter of time before he is back here, usually on a charge identical to the original one. Personally, I think even the variety of the programs available is a detriment to their effectiveness. The young people get the impression they can shop around, and they do.

Q. You mentioned that over fifty percent return to your bench. Is that not an improvement, however slight, on the Home Office's estimate of sixty-five percent recidivism over a three year period in the approved schools prior to the 1969 Act?

A. It may well be. What what are we teaching these young persons in any case? We are teaching them that they can commit crimes with impunity. You're in education, you should be able to see this. I've heard this argument before. By the same logic, we could simply pay the young person X amount to stay out of trouble and by that mechanism get official recidivism rates down to five percent. But approaches like that ignore the two basic elements of the entire question; what is being done to change, to effectively change, the home environment of these young persons and what is being done to support the rule of

5. Interview with Mr. E. Cleever.

law. Without the rule of law, you know, without improved social conditions of a very basic nature, all the programs and theraputic strategies and special schools and community services are, in my opinion, a waste of time. The law must be seen to work and the society which it regulates must be seen to work.

Q. The approved schools did not work by any criteria whether that of recidivism rates, teaching respect for the law, or giving young persons a humane education. What do you propose?

A. Personally, I think the content of the rehabilitative system is secondary. The form of it, the structure is what counts. Whether, from the young persons' point of view, you take him canoeing, teach him French, let him drive a police car, or give him a quite stern regime, is not crucial. What is crucial is that the activities have limits. Either he does this, or that happens. Either he participates, or his liberty is in some degree restricted. There must be a tangible element of compulsion in whatever system you employ. This shows that the law has teeth and that it is law and not individual whim which has the ultimate say in a society. As I said before, the other part of the question is that something must be done to ensure that the society in which the child is growing up is improved. The society which demands obedience to its laws must show itself to be a just one as well. As a magistrate, you understand, I am obliged to follow the law. The law now states that I am not permitted to prescribe the form of treatment for the young offender. In a way I can understand this. Historically, magistrates have too unquestioningly responded to society's call for punishment alone. But now the balance has swung too far the other way.

Q. Particularly in terms of education, what would you say is the most obvious need of the young persons with whom you have contact?

A. I would not specify a subject, that's not my concern. Nor would I specify a teaching method that should be employed, that's yours. I'm not an educational psychologist. I can only say in general terms that it strikes me what little sense of direction they have. They don't want to study this and they don't want to study that. They'll go to a special school for a week, but then give it up and come back on the streets. They appear to me not to want to learn anything, to apply themselves. Is this what you mean by an educational need?

5. Interview with Mr. E. Cleever.

Q. Yes. What type of educational program would you then recommend that the local authority undertake for children in need of care, young offenders?

A. Any one which keeps them out of court to begin with. Really, this varies from child to child. Some can read well, some not. Some have psychiatric problems, others are just bored. From my point of view as a magistrate, I would most like to see educational programs which involve the individual youth far more than a week or two, programs which get them interested in something.

Q. What do you think the next ten years holds in store for the field of juvenile corrections?

A. Here again I must wear two hats. As a magistrate I think we are going to see the rule of law undermined, the police harder pressed, more young persons committing crimes, a deteriorating situation. I can see no other future unless the legal powers of the courts and police are greatly strengthened. We are at present virtually powerless. Personally, I feel quite sad. I see a lot of young men and women come and go here and I know their lot will not appreciably change. Of course there is experimentation going on, just look at this 1969 Act. It's very simple to the outsider, but to someone involved it's quite frustrating. I don't think that policy should be synonymous with experimentation. As the children have a duty to obey the law, so we have a duty to provide them with an opportunity in society. We're not doing this. The local authorities aren't doing this for the young offender. They're giving them a jumble sale of advice, programs, and services. I know it sounds terribly reactionary to say all this, to say that these new methods are a mess, but in my opinion they are.

6. Interview with Mr. B. Smith, Regional Planning Officer for Devon and Cornwall Intermediate Treatment, Cornwall County Council, Truro, Cornwall, Great Britain, 3 June 1973.

Q. What, in your opinion, has been the primary result of the 1969 Act?

A. Well, I've read the comments of the magistrate and I would say that they are fairly typical, certainly of magistrates that I have been associated with. There is something that the magistrates do not take into account however, something which perhaps their position prevents them from fully understanding. To change, I take his point,a youth's environment is not something that can be done overnight. Yet magistrates are under a certain immediate public pressure to do justice, are they not? The 1969 Act gives us an opportunity to effectively change that environment. To carry out a program of rehabilitative education is a very protracted business.

Q. In what ways do you think the local authorities attempt to carry out such a "protracted business?"

A. I can only speak for this region of course. We attempt to assess a child's needs, either at an assessment center or through a social worker,to assess his family's needs, and then to act, comprehensively, on the basis of these needs.

Q. Can you do this for every child who is given a care order by a magistrate?

A. We try to, but of course there are gaps. There are of course the well-publicized gaps when a young person commits further offenses while under a care order and even before we can organize a program for him. But surely this is the price one must pay. Were we to allow these young persons to languish in juvenile prisons until we had services sorted out for them, the problem would only be compounded by the incarceration and we would have to provide even more services. The ratepayers wouldn't like that. There are of course children for whom we have few services at all. Ultimately, these services come out of taxation and we must be responsive to the public as any other department. We don't provide as many services as we'd like to or as many as are really needed. We just barely cope at the moment.

Q. Recent statistics on the rise of juvenile crime would not support the point that the local authorities are coping with the children sent to them under care orders. Would you say that you are being successful?

A. The Children and Young Persons Act of 1969 was not really implemented until 1971. Many of the programs are just a year ot two old. It takes a long time to build up resources that young persons will recognize as being in their best interests, resources they will use. I think, contrary to our friend the magistrate, that the juvenile crime rate will abate quite markedly in the coming ten years.

Q. I hope you're right. I'd also like to ask you that question again. Concerning educational programs in particular, which would you say have been the most successful of those organized by your office?

A. I think the system of tutors for those children in care who have learning disabilities has been useful. I suppose it's a bit of a luxury to organize individual tutors, but they have been successful, haven't they?[1] You have the added benefit of the young person developing a personal relationship with a mature adult and both of them working on a problem together.

Q. What would you say has been the least successful of the programs you've seen?

A. I think we have a weak point in liaison with the schools. We could participate more energetically in vocational education. I would like to see the local authorities and the social services in particular work themselves out of a job in this sense, if you see what I mean.

Q. What do you think the next ten years holds for juvenile corrections?

A. I hope it holds an end to the system of juvenile courts. Up to a certain age, perhaps fifteen, I would like the social services to be able to take referrals almost directly from the police, from health visitors, from the school authorities in the case of truancy, without going through the trauma and expense of a court system. That is my hope. I would guess, as I said before, that we will begin to see a drop in the rate of juvenile crime although I'm afraid that crimes of violence are going to continue as long as we allow the media the free hand it's been taking in this regard. I'm quite enthusiastic about many of the new developments in theory and counseling. I think in that sense we are living in a quite interesting age.

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[1]The author was a special tutor for reading disabled youngsters for the Cornwall County Council Department of Social Services in 1973.

7. Interview with Michael C., youth in care of Cornwall County Council, Falmouth,Cornall, 16 January 1974.

Q. Michael, how and when did you first come into contact with the local authority's program?
A. I was arrested for shoplifting in 1970. I'd been caught a few times before so they weren't about to let me off. They got sort of nasty really and I had to admit all these other times. They call this 'taking into consideration' or something.[2] Then the magistrate said that really he'd like to get me out of Camborne but he couldn't so he was giving me one of these care orders and was requesting, that was it, that the social service send me away somewhere because I was being such a bother in the shops, I suppose.
Q. Had you had any contact with the local authority before?
A. Sure, the police had stopped me lots of times for taking stuff from shops, but I think they figured I was so young it was no use so they just used to play the sargeant-major a bit and send me on my way.[3]

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[2]In British court practice an accused person, if entering a plea of guilty, may ask for leniency or some reduction in sentence on the basis of admitting other offenses for which he was not apprehended. The court is then expected, although not obliged in law, to be less severe in sentencing in return for the admissions.

The purposes of this are twofold. First, it is an administrative convenience for the police in that a great many unsolved crimes are thereby cleared off their books. Secondly, it is thought to be an advantage to the rehabilitative process in that the convicted person is thought to enter prison or whatever treatment with a clear conscience and therefore more amenable to reformative instruction.

It has its inverse application as well. A young man in Penzance related to the author the story of how,after serving a three month sentence in detention center for burglary, was arrested upon release and given another three month sentence for a relatively lesser offence of shoplifting which he had committed a year and a half previously but which detective work had just solved. He said that the police told him he got the sentence because he hadn't confessed during his first court appearance.

[3]A rank in the British army. Sargeant-major has the connotation of a drill instructor or very authoritarian figure.

7. Interview with Michael C.

Q. I meant had anyone from social services or the court come around to see you at your house, to see how you you were doing?
A. This woman came around a few times once after Dad left, but I don't remember what she did really, it was a bit ago you know. She used to just chat and have tea with my mum and smile and have some papers. She never said anything about my nicking things from shops.
Q. How would you say you'd been doing at school?
A. Well I left as soon as I could you know. I didn't like it much. Some of the teachers weren't bad but it was mostly pretty boring. Once they find out you can't read very well they start talking to you like you're an idiot or something.
Q. And any teaching you've had with social services?
A. A little bit better. At least they didn't use the same old books over and over again. They did some more interesting things, like that once where we went out in a boat. But you know, once you're finished with school you're finished, you know? I mean I'm not going to get a job as a boatman am I? It was fun but that was about it.
Q. You know, Michael, up until a few years ago you would have been sent to an approved school if you'd been to court as many times as you have. Do you think a school like that would have been good for you at all?
A. I don't know, haven't heard too much about them really. I suppose they're like borstal, very strict and all that, doing shop work. I don't think they're any good because once you decide you're going to do something, like stop school, then that's it and the more they try and make you the worse it gets. No, those schools, are no good. I suppose they teach you a job and all that though.
Q. Aside from education, do you think any of these schools had an effect on the kids who went to them?
A. Oh no, I mean if you still feel like nicking something, you do. I know they try all ways to get you to think differently, they talk, they try to get you a job and all that, but it doesn't change you, you know? Now, if I decide I want something, I work out a good way to nick it so I won't get caught and no one would know.
Q. What was the most helpful part of your care order?
A. I don't know, I mean it doesn't stop you from nicking stuff does it? But everybody tries to help you out you know, except for the judge. But they really don't know what it's like you know.

8. Interview with Richard C. at Redruth,Cornwall, Great Britain, 18 May, 1975.

Q. Richard, could you tell me how you first came to be sent to an approved school?
A. Well I got into a lot of trouble at school you know. I was always fighting and that and not getting on with the teachers. The head kept saying this and that and finally they had me up to court. They didn't do nothing the first time, just gave me one of those warnings and that. The second time the judge said he was sending me to an approved school. The head said he thought I would get sorted out there but he was wrong.
Q. Why would you say you had been in trouble in school in the first place?
A. Well everybody's always after you to do this and that you know? If you don't act in a certain way every day they start to push you around. They think they own the bloody world. I wouldn't let them do it you know and pretty soon the teacher and the head and everybody started to go out of their way like to make trouble you know. They can't wait to catch you with a fag so they can push you around or cane you or something. They cause the trouble really.
Q. Do you think anything else influenced you?
A. Not really. Those teachers used to get me really mad.
Q. Did you have trouble out of school or at home?
A. Sometimes my mates and me would have a bit of fun after school but it was only playing really. It was only serious in school like.
Q. And at home?
A. I was always O.K. with my mum. She used to be real strict but she sort of gave up after a while.
Q. What did the approved school do to or for you?
A. To was more like it. Talk about making you fight. They were supposed to be sending you there for cures and all that right? Some cures. I didn't fight too much I suppose though because every time I did it I got put in a solitary room and that was no good. But I sure felt like it. I felt like it a lot more than when I was in school. I felt like it especially when I got out. I hear they're closing a lot of those places down now and that's a good job. We used to call it the fight factory. There was this one kid who was a homosexual or something like that and we used to just beat him until he was blue, I mean really blue. It was the only fun we got really, beating this kid until he was blue. So many of us did it that he could never tell so it was O.K. If he had ever told, we

8. Interview with Richard C.

would have killed him. If he hadn't of been there we would have gone crazy you know?

Q. What happened after the approved school, Richard?

A. Well I got let out you know. I was out of solitary for a while because I wanted to get out. I did things like hit a table or bite myself whenever I felt like fighting so they would think I was getting better and let me out. It took a long time like but it worked. But after I got out I just couldn't keep doing that could I? I mean somebody comes up in a station somewhere and starts giving you a bad time, are you going to sit there and bite yourself? Like in that crazy film about that guy they made watch those movies with his eyes taped open. Then he couldn't fight or have sex when it was finished, right? What a silly idea. You can't do it. So I got in a bad fight again, sort of messed somebody up you know.

Q. And you went to court again?

A. Mmm. But then the judge said that the law had changed or something and he couldn't send me back to the approved school. I was happy. He said it would be up to social services what sort of treatment they gave me.

Q. Did you get in any more fights?

A. For a while I didn't. I thought they might change the bloody law again and I would end up back in approved school. I was always afraid of that. But you forget about it you know. You know what? I even think sometimes that it was really O.K., that me and my mates had a good time there really and all that. Amazing what your mind does, isn't it?

Q. But then you got in trouble again?

A. Mmm. You see, you're from America and that's O.K. because you've got lots of things to dothere, there's lots happening you know? Here there's nothing to do and people pick on you all the time, especially blokes who think they're something. So I got in a bad fight again, in a pub it was. Stupid really. What can you do? You're trying to have a nice night out with your mates and some bloody idiot spills your beer. Happens all the time. He had to go to hospital and all that.So I got sent to prison and now I'm out on parole.

Q. Of your time in care, what did you think was the most helpful part?

A. I don't know. I suppose it was going to see that doctor but you know, he would just be talking and then it was time to go. Then it was a fortnight until I saw him again and I forgot everything he said. If he had been my dad

maybe it would have been worth it.

Q. And the least helpful part?

A. All of it, hah! I mean, you know, everybody is supposed to be there to stop you from fighting and breaking the law. The judge, the police, the school, that doctor, all them. The social workers, the teachers, everybody. What do they do really? Most of them make you feel like breaking more laws. It should all be the other way around, it's back to front really.

9. Questionnaire administered to forty young persons in care of the Cornwall County Council, Social Services Department, Penzance, Cornwall, Great Britain, 1974.

This questionnaire is being given to you because you have been to court and to,

a) community treatment scheme
b) detention or assessment centre
c) approved school

Please circle the one which is right for you. If you have been to more than one, please do a different questionnaire for each. Our idea is to find out which parts of your experience have made it more likely that you will go before a court again and which have made it less likely that you will go before a court again. Will you please answer the questions by marking a circle around one of the letters in the right-hand column. "C" means very likely to cause you to go to court again, "NC" means not very likely to cause you to go to court again, and "N" means the item had no effect on you at all.

	Your Opinion		
1. Any meetings you have had with a social worker before going to court.	C	NC	C
2. What the judge or magistrate said to you during your court appearance.	C	NC	C
3. The length of your sentence or care order.	C	NC	C
4. The headmaster of the school you were sent to.	C	NC	C
5. The teachers at the school you were sent to.	C	NC	C
6. The strictness of the school you were sent to.	C	NC	C
7. The freedom at the school you were sent to.	C	NC	C
8. The English or reading classes.	C	NC	C

9. Questionnaire administered to youth in care of the Cornwall County Council.

9. The mathematics of science classes.	C	NC	C
10. The vocational classes.	C	NC	C
11. Your relations with other young persons in the institution or in care.	C	NC	C
12. Any psychologists.	C	NC	C
13. Your housing arrangements.	C	NC	C
14. Visiting arrangements.	C	NC	C
15. The food.	C	NC	C

On the back of this paper please list, a) three things which you think may cause you to go to court again, and b) three things which may now stop you from going to court again.

Thank you very much for your help.

Responses to the closed section of the questionnaire were as follows. The numerical overlap is due to the fact that some young persons had been to a detention or assessment center prior to being placed in care of the local authority and therefore answered two questionnaires. None of those questioned had been involved in community treatment and approved school.

9. Questionnaire administered to youth in care of the Cornwall County Council. Tabulated results of closed section of questionnaire.

Table 1-8participants Approved School

Question No.	Responses		
	C	NC	N
1.	1	5	2
2.	4	2	2
3.	4	2	2
4.	2	3	3
5.	1	4	3
6.	7	0	1
7.	2	2	4
8.	0	4	4
9.	0	2	6
10.	1	2	5
11.	6	1	1
12.	1	2	5
13.	5	0	3
14.	6	0	2
15.	2	0	6

Table 2-32 participants Community

Question No.	Responses		
	C	NC	N
1.	8	14	10
2.	9	9	14
3.	6	10	16
4.	6	6	20
5.	5	18	9
6.	8	16	8
7.	2	24	6
8.	1	20	11
9.	1	16	15
10.	6	15	11
11.	10	10	12
12.	2	13	17
13.	15	8	9
14.	5	25	2
15.	0	9	23

Table 3-11 participants Detention Centre

Question No.	Responses		
	C	NC	N
1.	2	5	4
2.	2	3	6
3.	2	2	7
4.	3	1	7
5.	1	6	6
6.	6	4	1
7.	2	2	7
8.	0	4	7
9.	0	2	9
10.	0	3	8
11.	4	2	5
12.	2	2	7
13.	3	5	3
14.	2	2	7
15.	1	1	9

9. Questionnaire administered to youth in care of the Cornwall County Council. The most frequent responses to the open section of the questionnaire were as follows.

Aspects Likely to Cause Another Court Appearance

Approved School (8 respondents)	Community Treat. (32 respondents)	Detention Ctr. (11 respondents)
1. Desire to get "back" at somebody.	1. Home problems still not sorted out.	1. Boredom.
2. Didn't really learn anything.	2. No worthwhile job yet.	2. No change in situation.
3. More friends who would probably go to court	3. Boredom.	3. Attitude of police.

Aspects Likely to Prevent Another Court Appearance

Approved School (8 respondents)	Community Treat. (32 respondents)	Detention Ctr. (11 respondents)
1. Not want to return.	1. Better chances now for a good job.	1. Not want to return.
2. Had met some interesting people.	2. Travel, seeing new places.	2. Would think before acting more.
3. Learned how not to repeat mistakes.	3. New friends.	3. More money in hand now.

10. Interview with Mr. T. Hart, Superintendent of Cumberlow Lodge, London Borough of Lambeth, Chalfont Road, South Norwood, S.E.25. 7 September,1971.

Q. Mr. Hart, there has been a great deal of attention paid in the press recently to the rise in juvenile crime and in particular to the rise in violent crime. In what ways would you say the program you offer here addresses itself to that trend?

A. I wouldn't say that we have a specific program here to redress the violence in society or possible violent tendencies in girls sent here. Specialization is the road to hell for these children. Many of them are on a merry-go-round looking for the right expert, the right situation, the right institution. They get dropped off at my front door here and I'm supposed to put right in less than twelve months what's been going wrong for fifteen years. We do attempt a comprehensive service in that we offer medical, psychological, and psychiatric reports with a view to recommending a future course of treatment for a particular girl. But we do not attempt cures. I think in that sense perhaps the greatest service we provide is a respite, some affection, and hopefully sound advice.

Q. How is your assessment followed up?

A. Haphazardly. The more violent, the more disturbed a girl is, the less chance I have of finding anywhere for her to go. The chance is that on leaving here she'll drift around on her own until one day I'll hear that she's in Holloway or dead. Some local authorities attempt to carry out the treatment program we propose, others don't, most just can't.

Q. What would you say is the greatest need that children coming here have?

A. The same needs as any other children; love, family, a future, respect, the chance to be children. These are all basic needs that become obscured in all of our jargon and concern with more supposedly refined psychological phenomena. The fact that a young girl has committed an offense does not change her psychologic constitution, does not make her a different case. It means that the pressures and problems she has faced have been more extreme than for others and that the solutions she has attempted to those pressures have been more extreme. But this is all a question of degree. Basically, we are failing with so many young persons to give them such elementary things. We've given them a culture with everything in it but love.

10. Interview with Mr. T. Hart.

Q. Of the trends in treatment, such as the legal changes of the 1969 Act, which would say has been the most promising?

A. We're not doing very well. Yes, reducing the scope of the reformatories and the more punitive institutions has been a worthwhile step, but we can still be a very insensitive society. It was a worthwhile change to eliminate the class of offender and refer all children in crisis to their local authority. But we still specialize too much. These are children. I often wonder why we don't just try giving them love and see what results come from that.

11. Department of Social Services (Great Britain) description of Stamford House Detention Centre, printed 15 March, 1971.

London Borough of Hammersmith
Social Services Department
Stamford House
206 Goldhawk Road,
Shepherd's Bush,
London W.12.

General. The rebuilding of Stamford House was completed in December of 1967. The finished scheme provides placement places for one hundred and twenty boys, living in four houses. Two of these houses formed part of the original remand home in 1964 when the rebuilding commenced. In addition, there is a 'secure unit' for ten boys. There is also a well equipped school, staff living quarters, sick bay, offices, interview rooms, swimming bath, gymnasium, kitchens from where the food is distributed to each house.

Function. Stamford House provides observation and assessment facilities, as requested by any of the Directors of Social Services for the twelve inner London boroughs, for boys; a) on interim care orders, who have appeared before a juvenile court and where specialist reports are required by the magistrates when the boy reappears at the end of his period of remand, b) held as a temporary measure, in its capacity as a place of safety, c) who have been made subjects of full care orders. The team of specialists in conjunction with the appropriate local authority field worker, then combine to diagnose the needs of the boy, decide on the most appropriate treatment programme, endeavour to create in him a purposeful attitude to training, and provide the receiving establishment with full reports. Out of the 2,200 who pass through each year, about 400 to 500 boys are assessed as needing a period of training or time for readjustment away from their homes. These boys are transferred by either the field worker, or a member of staff, so there are opportunities for visiting the many and varied community schools, homes, and hostels. This contact, and resultant knowledge of the long term establishments is an essential part of an effective assessment pattern.

Organization. All the boys are placed in one of four houses, or in the closed provision block under the supervision of the senior housemaster. During his stay the boy lives, sleeps and has his meals in his house, and during every

11. Description of Stamford House Detention Centre.

weekday he also takes part, not as a member of any particular house, in a full programme of classroom and practical activities, but is called away at times from group activities for individual testing and interviewing. A small group of boys aged fifteen plus constitute a work party and do chores in the houses and about the building. In the evenings and at weekends it is the duty of the senior housemaster and his team to provide and supervise the necessary physical and recreational activities. Some evening classes are arranged centrally. This routine continues, with modifications, if a boy is subsequently made subject of a full care order and returned to Stamford House for assessment and to await a vacancy. Apart from the closed provision, Stamford House is not a secure establishment and because the staff must come to know the boys, to be able to report on them, the atmosphere in the houses is reasonably permissive. This inevitably means that the job is most demanding, and for staff new to the work, to begin with at least, also confusing. The experience of most newcomers is that it is only after some weeks that the policy and routine come to life and they are able to recognize the purpose and rationale of it all.

Staff. The staffing structure on the child care side is as follows.

Superintendent
Deputy Superintendent
Assistant Superintendent
5 Senior Housemasters
Training Officer
10 Housemasters
41 Residential Child Care Officers
6 part-time Housemothers

There is in addition a full supporting clerical, domestic and maintenance staff. Specialist help and advice are provided by part-time psychiatrists, a visiting medical officer, educational psychologists, psychiatrists, social workers, and resident nursing staff. The education content is arranged by the Head of Education and a staff of experienced teachers and instructors (recruited by the Inner London Education Authority), all of whom form part of the diagnostic and specialist team.

The age range; problems presented and the nature of the boy staff relationship. Boys are accepted from the age of ten to eighteen years, although the vast majority are

11. Description of Stamford House Detention Centre.

between twelve and sixteen. Boys under the age of twelve normally go to a reception centre, so only the more difficult, or if they have a brother at Stamford House, find their way here. Pressure for places has been severe for some years and the place is usually full. Only the minority of boys admitted are first offenders. Some have a long history of running away from home or continual truancy from school. About twenty-five percent have already experienced long periods of institutionalisation either in nurseries, reception centres, children's homes and community schools.

Many are here at a time of crisis due either to adolescence, family upheavel or simply separation from home. Their disturbance may manifest itself in many ways. Staff must be prepared to be tested out, subject to gross manipulation, attention and affection seeking, aggressive, challenging and defiant behaviour. They must, therefore, have developed or have the potential to develop, a degree of maturity which makes them acceptable to the boys (although their acceptance may not be obvious) as someone with reasonable social standards of integrity, concern, and the capacity to care.

Since most of the boys spend their time together in groups or any number up to thirty, it would be unwise for applicants to assume their contact with them was mainly on a one to one basis. Such opportunities do arise or are arranged, but initially more important is the task of creating within the group a social climate which stimulates and fosters the making of individual contacts.

The problem of group control is one which new staff must eventually come to terms with. This is not always easy, for those we usually attract do not specifically seek this authority role. However, in our experience, in spite of their misgivings they soon realize that without order (at different levels for different occasions) nothing can be achieved.

The situation presented is a challenging one. It could hardly fail to be otherwise with the fluctuation in numbers, the range in age and intelligence, and degree of delinquency or disturbance, but for anyone interested it also provides invaluable experience which can hardly fail to be educative.

(b) Practical	*Pride in achievement* *Enjoys practical work* *Follows instruction* *(Productive* *(Non-productive*	*Prefers non-technical* *Capable of manual tasks* *Repetitive work*
(c) *Physical*	*Track and field events)* *GAMES - Football Cricket,)* *Boxing, Swimming, Cycling.)* *INDOOR GAMES - Table Tennis, etc.)*	*Any previous record*
Reactions to people Fellow-pupils	*Shows leadership* *Popular & Accepted* *Intergrates satisfactorily*	*Not fully accepted due to : Boastfulness* *" " " " " Membership of clique* *" " " " " Buying Popularity* *Isolated: - (Rejected by other* *(Willingly*
Teachers	*Good sense of discipline* *Co-operative - helpful*	*Indifferent Challenging* *Unco-operative Defiant* *Subversive*
Cultural	*Any difficulties*	
Social	*Any obvious problem*	
Emotional Factors		

12. Kneesworth Hall, details of offenses and recidivism. Reprinted courtesy of Kneesworth Hall School, Royston, Herts., Great Britain.

Table 8.21
Group A-first offenders
Group B-repeated offenders
Total in study, 135

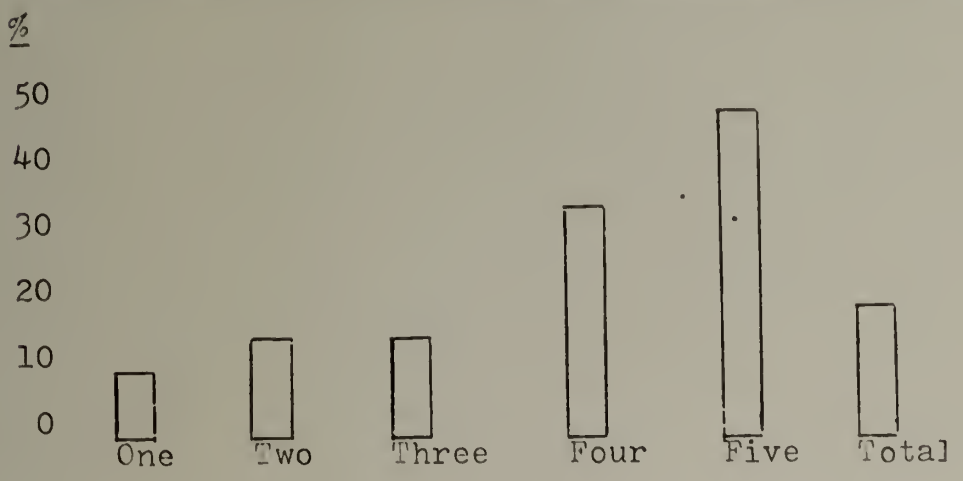
Nature of Offences	Group A(67)	Group B(68)
1. Simple larceny	30	23
2. Simple larceny together with aggravated theft	1	2
3. Simple larceny together with violence	1	1
4. Simple larceny together with taking and driving away motor vehicles	1	1
5. Aggravated larceny	27	29
6. Aggravated larceny together with violence	1	0
7. Aggravated larceny together with sexual offences	0	2
8. Beyond control	1	1
9. Failure to comply with provisions of the Education Acts	5	3
10. Taking and driving away motor vehicles	0	2
11. Violence against the person	0	2
12. Sexual offences	0	2

Table 8.25 "Analysis of point of first finding of guilt of those boys included in group B."

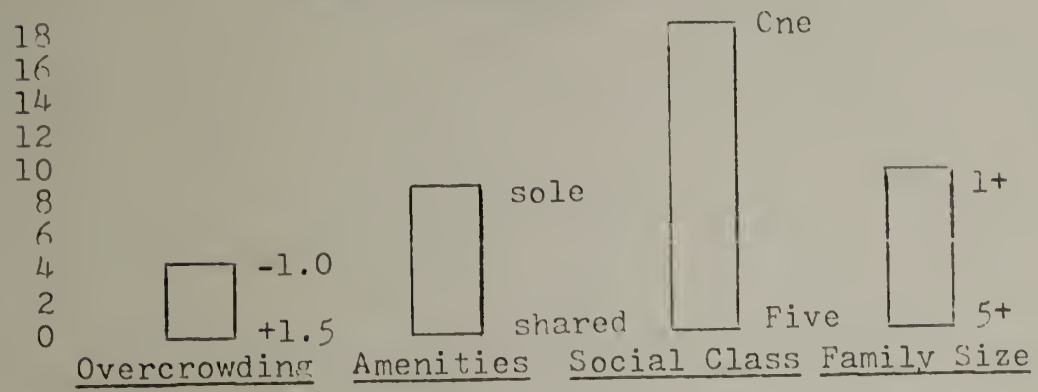
Time Point	Number	Number for whom recidivism was isolated
During first year	20	-
During second year	21	4
During third year	11	7
During fourth year	5	-
During fifth year	1	1
During sixth year	1	-
During seventh year	5	1
During eighth year	2	-

13. "From Birth To Seven," The Second Report of the National Child Development Study. Charts showing relation of Social Class (parental income) to reading attainment.

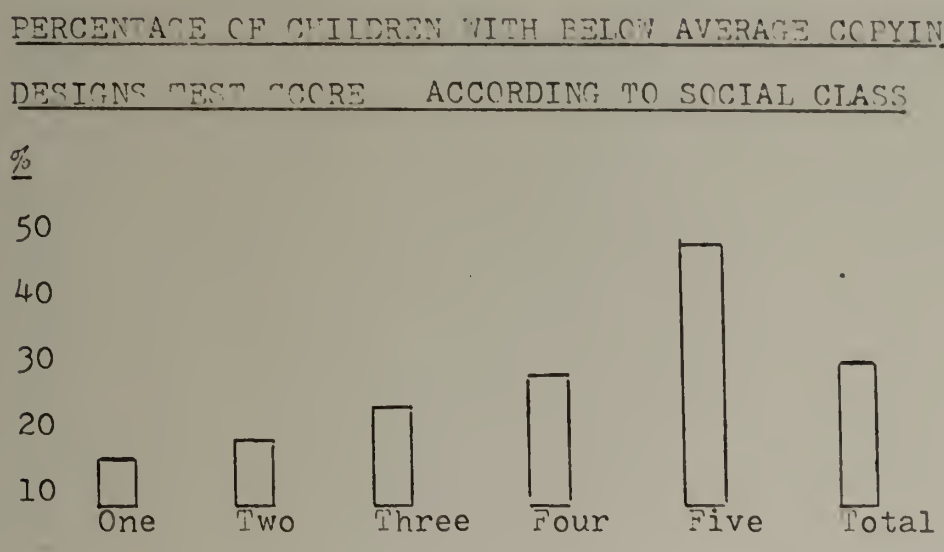
PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN WITH BELOW AVERAGE SOUTH-GATE READING TEST SCORES ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS



GAIN IN READING AGE (MONTHS)



13."From Birth To Seven," chart showing relation of Social Class (parental income) to fine motor skill.



A P P E N D I X B

Supplementary Materials from the Westfield Detention Center

1. Announcement of staff vacancy. Copy of original.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts
Division of Youth Services
Westfield Reception-Detention Center
51 East Mountain Road
Westfield, Massachusetts
23 October, 1964.

INSTITUTION SCHOOL TEACHER

Vacancy: Due to a promotion of the present teacher, there will be one vacancy for a male or female effective 2 November 1964.

Salary: The beginning salary is $5647, the maximum salary is $7098.

Duties: Applicant will be employed by the Division of Youth Services, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, at the Detention Center in Westfield. Applicant will work an eight hour day, five day week. The school year is from the first week in September to the last week of June.
The main responsibility of the applicant will be in work with emotionally disturbed delinquent boys and girls between the ages of seven and seventeen. Due to the variances of age and ability, the majority of the teaching will be remedial and program learning.
The applicant will be responsible for the supervision of individual school assignments sent from the child's regular school; supervise the S.R.A. Reading Labratory and administer the Stanford Achievement Tests. An in-service training program is available.

Entrance Requirements:
Possession of a Bachelor Degree and Massachusetts elementary and/or secondary teaching certificate.

APPLICANTS WILL CONTACT [illegible] FOR AN INTERVIEW [illegible]

1. Letter of application for Institution School Teacher at the Westfield Detention Center. Copy of original.

Director in Charge
Westfield Detention Center,
51 Mountain Rd.,
Westfield, Mass.
November 18, 1974

Dear Mr. Coyne,

The placement office at Clark University has notified me of an opening in your institution for a teacher of disturbed children.

I am a 1961 graduate of Clark with a major in psychology and minors in sociology, biology, and English. After receiving my B.A. I was employed by Old Sturbridge Village as a host, a lecturer to visitors. In the latter part of September, during the Berlin Crisis, I enlisted in the army to complete training and become a member of the Military Police.

As a senior military policeman, and later, as a Patrol Supervisor, I noted that many of the crimes and offenses which I investigated were the result of moral and/or academic ignorance, and aimless misdirection. I then made the decision to make a career in education, and I intend, ultimately, to further my owne (sic) education in the area of educational guidance.

I have taken twelve semester hrs. in education, six of these in educational psychology, three in the philosophy of education, and three in an American educational survey course. I anticipate certification in June of this year. In the army, I have instructed numerous training classes concerning military police duty, such as small arms marksmanship, first aid, and military police forms and reports. I hope these and my other qualifications are suitable for this position.

I shall telephone next week to arrange an interview with you if this is possible.

Sincerely,
A. Tosconi

2. Institution School Teacher's "Precis," a description of teaching methods and goals at the Westfield Detention Center, 1963.

September 6, 1963

TO: DIRECTOR, WESTFIELD DETENTION CENTER

FROM: BERNARD J. KANE, STAFF TEACHER

SUBJECT: Procedures and Objectives for Teaching

The following precis is presented as a guide pertaining to the teaching procedure to be presented at the Westfield Detention Home.

It is my contention that the most important factor in the learning process is the child's adequate motivation which is brought into being some outside stimulus. Without this motivation, the student has no desire, interest or reason to learn.

Especially in this environment, it is necessary to keep the child occupied the majority of his time; his interests must be continuously stimulated.

Accordingly, the learning process I suggest is the "core curriculum". In this process, the child is motivated by the main thought of the particular "subject-statement". The following is a brief example of the curriculum which shows how various subjects can be inculcated into the teaching periods:

The main topic of the lesson plan will be: The American Revolution. Seeing that the children vary in age from 9 years to 15 years, this is a subject that should be extremely interesting to them. Once they are sufficiently motivated, various educational subjects can be introduced separately or combined. For example, by reading about the Battles of Lexington and Concord, the students will actually be studying history, literature and reading for practice and knowledge.

Teaching them to spell can be accomplished by a daily quiz on the words that they had read the previous day, such as "Washington" and "rifle".

By dividing the class or group into the two respective armies, arithmetic can be interestingly introduced by having the children account the number of men that they have, subtracting the number of casualties from the total to accertain how many will be able to participate in the next battle, multiplying that number by the gallons of water needed and dividing the total amount of ammunition by the number of men to see how many bullets each man will have.

2. Description of teaching methods and goals, 1963.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Division of Youth Service

Westfield Detention Center

51 East Mt. Road

Westfield, Mass.

September 6, 1963

Art can be easily introduced by the making of papier-mache forts and plaster of paris soldiers for a static display.

By playing the now-popular folk records and learning the songs by rote, the children will benefit from the story presented in the lyrics and from the music itself.

How the Colonists and British celebrated our now national holidays will add seasonal interest to the subjects and stimulate the learning process.

Games that were played by the boys and girls in the middle 1800's, can be played by our modern-day children. In this way, even exercise at recess can follow the logical series of idea.

Science can be introduced by finding out how and by what means the English were transported to this country. They could find out how to navigate by using the north star, what makes the boat move, what place the rudder plays in steering of the ship, etc.

By finding out where the battles took place, the children will familiarize themselves with the order of the states, their capitals, principal contributions, etc., and thus be learning geography.

These are but a few examples of the work that can be accomplished by using this type of curriculum.

There would be no set periods of the day specifically set aside for English, math, science, etc.; all subjects can be combined and effectively introduced throughout the day. As the interest of the children begins to lessen in a particular area or subject, it can be quickly changed to another. However, the same motivating topic, The American Revolution, will be carried over.

2. Description of teaching methods and goals, 1963.

The basic objective of teaching here at the Detention Home is to stimulate the children's interest and desire to continue in their studies and to read. I sincerely feel that for even a boy in reception, the time is too limited to show a marked improvement in his knowledge. The majority of these children, for some reason or another, dislike school and the authority the teacher represents. Therefore, I shall attempt to motivate these youngsters in such a way as to increase their desire to learn by directing the various subjects to their interests. If this can be accomplished here, the child will have a new outlook on school and learning. According, when he is transferred to another environment, he will enter it with an optimistic rather than persimistic attitude.

After talking to the boys individually, I found that their main complaint or reaction to the Home was that there was nothing to do and they soon became quite bored. With this attitude, these children will be more receptive to the dissemination of knowledge (provided it is presented interestingly) than students in regular schools. Once their attention is motivated and they begin to take an active part in the school, the boredom and apathy will be replaced by useful and attentive participation.

The results of this program will be three-fold:

(1) The child will be introduced to an entirely new concept of education which will give him the incentive and desire to continue his education and studies.

(2) The student will now have a new attitude toward school, studying, reading and the teacher as well.

(3) Once the program is operational, the school and the interesting topics presented will occupy the child's day and his thoughts thus preventing, or at least limiting, thoughts dealing with his troubles, fears and possible ideas concerning escape.

Respectfully submitted:

Bernard John Kane

3. Inventory of the educational materials in the Westfield Detention Center 2 November, 1970, compiled by institution school teacher W.L. Cook. Copy of original.

Westfield Detention Center,
Inventory of the Educational Program,
November 2, 1970.
W.L. Cook

1) 318 paperback books and hard-bound books.
Approximate percentage re content:
15% ... contemporary fiction, romances, adventure stories
15% ... vocational education manuals on subjects such as tool and die, offset printing, boat building
50% ... obsolete public school textbooks (most recent date 1955), primarily in social studies and mathematics
20% ... misc. books on sports, advanced painting techniques, classic novels, English poetry

2) 1 set of S.R.A. reading comprehension cards.

3) 1 set of grammar development worksheets (noun and very usage, prepositional clauses, gerunds, adjectives, etc.)

4) 1 box of mathematics worksheets (addition, subtraction, all approx. 5th grade level)

5) 1 box of assorted jigsaw puzzles

6) several games; Monopoly, Bingo, checkers

7) cardboard, crayons, drawing paper

4. Paper to Prospective volunteer tutors at the University of Massachusetts. Copy of the original by W.L. Cook, Head Teacher at the Westfield Detention Center, April 1971.

The children in residence at the Westfield Detention Center are there on two general conditions, detention and reception. As these conditions affect directly the length of time a child may spend in the institution and his attitude towards the function of the institution, they must be differentiated in terms of expectations for a viable and worthwhile educational program.

Children sent to the institution for detention have not been convicted of any offense. They are there pending a court appearance or pending outcome of an appeal. Therefore to initiate educational activities with the intention of correction or remediation is even more presumptuous and inappropriate than it is in any other situation. The children on detention have not been adjudicated against and have not, by official standards, been declared in need of more than the obligation to appear in a specified court on a specified date.

However, the children in detention have been placed in a physical situation and under emotional stress which is far from the innocence of their legal position. They have been removed from their community, school, family and friends. In many instances the separation from the family has been instigated by the parents themselves solely on the basis of a child's behavior within the family. In even more instances, an unsupporting or even hostile family situation has led a child to delinquent associations and behavior in the larger community. It is on the basis of that behavior that a child is arraigned and brought to the Center.

Given these conditions, we see the main function of the educational program for the youngster on detention to be one of providing enjoyable activities in a climate of support and affirmation. The youngster should be free to participate or not as he pleases in any activity or project presented. If he chooses to spend his period of detention sleeping, watching television, etc., that should be his option. It is hoped that he will be exposed to persons, books, activities, media which will engage his interest and motivate him. But it should be noted that this is the hope of the educational staff and should not be transferred as obligation to the youngsters.

4. Paper to prospective volunteer tutors, 1971.

The relation then of volunteer personnel to the children on detention should ideally be one of companionship, support, and non-judgement. Obviously, a volunteer should not condone by inaction behavior which is overtly hostile or self-destructive on the part of the youngster. Encounter with adults of varying sensitivities, habits, and priorities is healthy for any individual and should not be avoided. But again this should be within the framework of companionship and support.

Possible activities for individuals wishing to become involved with the Center's program might include participation in the "Open School" held each weekday morning in the Center itself. Also, recreational and special interest activities inside and outside the building are held throughout the week in the afternoons and evenings and on Saturdays. These have traditionally included group and individual sports, hiking, sewing, films, etc. However, with more interesting people from the colleges and local communities coming to Westfield, it is hoped that the range of these activities will be expanded.

An overall direction for possible tutorials would be that they provide the youngster with the skills and motivation necessary for life in his chosen community. Individually, we will attempt to match interest indicated by the children with competencies indicated by the volunteer tutors.

A primary skill for the tutor will be to integrate individualized interests such as guitar, reading music, science fiction, black history, etc. with survival skills in the urban culture.

In establishing a tutorial rather than a group activity situation with the children, it is hoped that a closer relationship will develop which will be more rewarding for all parties concerned.

There are several individuals available to give professional advice and support to tutors in such areas as individualized reading instruction, hiking and outdoor skills, and math and science programs.

Thank you all, very much, for your interest.

5. Interview with June E., a young person in residence at the Westfield Detention Center, 2 May, 1971.

Q. June, we would like to find out how you think this tutorial program is going. Do you mind if I ask you a few questions about it?
A. Sure.
Q. Before the volunteers started coming here from Amherst, what was your opinion of the educational program?
A. I didn't mind it too much. It was something to do anyway, but it was just the same old stuff.
Q. Do you think most of the students felt the same way about it?
A. No, I don't know. Most of them really couldn't stand it. I mean you get told what to do everywhere, it bugs you. Most of them hate it I suppose.
Q. Do you think Mr. Cook has done any better?
A. Yes, not too bad, it's still boring but at least he doesn't make you do a bunch of shit.
Q. What have you thought of the University of Massachusetts students who have been coming down here?
A. They're O.K. I guess.
Q. What about the reading and English work that they've been doing, do you think it's been worthwhile or not?
A. Yes, it's been O.K. They could sure use some more books though, and a decent tape recorder and those sort of things.
Q. What do you think you've learned?
A. Nothing. No, it's been O.K. It's good to do some of that stuff and it's good to just sit and rap with the volunteers. They know a lot of useful stuff.
Q. Do you think you learn more here or in a public school?
A. I guess you learn more here because you learn what you want so you learn it, you know? School is a drag. If I had my way, I wouldn't do it at all.
Q. How would you learn?
A. I'd just study myself you know?
Q. What different materials would you like to see used here to help you learn?
A. Get some more good books, I told you. Some books about law, some books about real people, some good art books.
Q. Do you think the art materials that Mr. Cook has here are enough?
A. Yes, they're O.K. but you get some of these silly criminals messing them up all the time. He doesn't see what that do with them, they wreck them or paint their arms and then roll the sleeves down or paint inside books. I guess you need more teachers.

5. Interview with June E., 2 May, 1971.

Q. Do you think it is what the volunteers should be doing?
A. Well that's the idea isn't it? I mean nobody wants to sit around and do English or any of that crap here. Read a book, C.K. But doing posters or something would be cool.
Q. Besides art, what else would you like to see more of here?
A. I'd like to see more of nothing here, I want to get out. C.K. I know what you mean. How about more movies, or poetry. Oh we already do that, some more of that poetry that Mr. Cook does. Sex education, drug education. All that sort of stuff.
Q. Had you been here many times before, June?
A. This is my third time.
Q. What was it like before?
A. I told you, it stunk.
Q. Thank you June.
A. Any time, any time.

6. Questionnaire administered to thirty youth in residence at the Westfield Detention Center, March 1972.

WHAT DO YOU THINK OF IT?

We would be very grateful if you would give your honest opinion of the following parts of our school program. We want to know what parts of it have made you feel like studying more, what parts have had no effect on you, and what parts have really turned you off. Would you please mark the following things according to 'M' (made you want to study more), 'N' (no effect), or 'T' (turned you off).

1. Paints, poster work, drawing	M	N	T
2. Sculpture, clay, polystyrene	M	N	T
3. Macrame, collages, beads	M	N	T
4. _____			
5. Paperback books on any subject	M	N	T
6. Comics	M	N	T
7. Magazines	M	N	T
8. S.R.A. kit	M	N	T
9. Scrabble, Spill and Spell, games	M	N	T
10. _____			
11. murals	M	N	T
12. poetry	M	N	T
13. making up games	M	N	T
14. science and mechanics	M	N	T
15. group discussions	M	N	T
16. _____			
17. free teacher	M	N	T
18. volunteer tutors	M	N	T
19. other members of staff	M	N	T
20. other young persons	M	N	T
21. _____			
22. no obligatory lessons	M	N	T
23. definite period for the schoolroom	M	N	T
24. _____			

For each blank space, please write in any subject or item that you would like to see more of in the program here. Thank you.

6. Questionnaire administered to youth in residence at the Westfield Detention Center, March 1972.

Results of the closed section:

Question No.	Y	N	T
1.	20	2	8
2.	6	14	10
3.	11	12	7
5.	12	12	6
6.	14	14	2
7.	17	13	0
8.	6	20	4
9.	16	12	2
11.	25	5	0
12.	18	10	2
13.	13	16	1
14.	8	16	6
15.	23	6	1
17.	18	8	4
18.	19	8	3
19.	10	10	10
20.	7	13	10
22.	20	4	6
23.	6	12	12

Results of the open section:

Area 1 (aesthetics) ..... India Ink sets most requested single item.

Area 2 (reading materials) .... Books about psychology most frequently requested.

Area 3 (projects) ..... Sex education most frequently requested.

Area 4 (people) ..... More volunteer tutors most frequently requested.

Area 5 (planning) ..... Have the schoolroom open all the time was the most frequent request.

7. Letter from Mr. Tom McFalls to Mr. E. Budelmann concerning the educational program at the Westfield Detention Center, 8 February, 1972.

Executive Director
United Community
Services
Pittsfield, Mass.

Mr. E.W. Budelmann,
West Pelham Road,
Shutesbury, Mass.

Dear Mr. Budelmann,

On February 7, 1972 I visited the Westfield Detention Center, Westfield, Massachusetts to review and assess the educational program operated there by the Department of Youth Services.

My evaluation is as follows.

1) The presently designed educational unit is entirely appropriate for a Center whose principal purpose is once again becoming a short term detention unit for youth ages 7 - 17.
2) The resources that have been collected in the school area for the youth's use show a broad range of material in which individualized instruction can take place in the form of self-help and/or tutoring.
3) It is a credit to the staff of the facility in general, and to Mr. William Cook in particular, that a style of learning is used which seems to fit in well with the overall modern objectives of the Department of Youth Services. A more formal approach to learning, like a classroom set-up, could only be interpreted as inappropriate and in many instances counter-productive. Many of these youth have had only negative association with an authoritarian type of school system and this is a part of life that they are trying to get away from. To force them back into this situation during their detention period is not educationally advisable.
4) To the casual observer or traditionalist, the low key informal type of education which is being carried out should not be interpreted as lacking substance for such is not the case. Conversations with the youth and review of their work bear out the positive experience they are

7. Letter concerning the educational program at the Detention Center to Mr. E. Budelmann, Regional Director of the Department of Youth Services, 1972.

having at Westfield.
5) To try to carry out any kind of education in this physical setting is far, far from ideal. However, more importantly, it is necessary to acknowledge, not ignore, the psychological pressure upon these youth at this time. They are there, at Westfield, at the Court's behest and awaiting a major life decision. To suggest a more formal style of education is stepping away from reality. To put this observation on an adult level, to place a youth awaiting Court action into a formal classroom one should anticipate the same results one would get by asking an American soldier in Vietnam, sitting in a helicopter waiting to make a combat jump, to learn and then recite Lincoln's Gettysburg address.
6) One teacher, many volunteers, and $100 a year is not adequate. This is a matter which the Department of Youth Services and the State Legislature have got to face up to. As desirable as it may be, Westfield Detention Center cannot continue for the long period ahead to rely on devotion of staff.
If I can be of any help in further elaborating on my views of these matters, do not hesitate to contact me again.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas L. McFalls,
Executive Director

7. Letter from Dean D. Allen of the University of Massachusetts School of Education to Dr. Jerome Miller, Commissioner of the Department of Youth Services, presenting an evaluation of the program at the Westfield Detention Center, 10 February, 1972.

School of Education
February 10, 1972

Dr. Jerome Miller
Commissioner, Department of Youth Services
14 Somerset Street
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Miller,

Mr. Ed Budelman requested that I visit the Westfield Detention Center to offer a first-hand judgement of the quality of the educational program there.
On Monday, February 7, I had the pleasure of visiting the facility, talking with the teacher in charge, Bill Cook, observing the students, checking on the materials available, and in general to gain an impression of the educational environment available to the detainees at Westfield. The orientation of the program is both constructive and effective. The competence of the teacher, Mr. Cook, is superb. His interest in the students, his expertise, his experience, and the relevance of his judgement combine to produce a program which is amazingly effective given the real limitations of an educational program under such circumstances.
The only reasonable expectation for an educational program is informal education, helping students to develop a more favorable orientation toward the process of education, giving them an opportunity to inventory their strengths and weaknesses, to discover talents that they have not had an opportunity previously to develop, and to further provide opportunities to remediate skills and to develop new interests and to sustain programs where they bring with them the motivation to do so.
It is impressive that the teacher, Bill Cook, took the initiative to develop a tutorial program and receive funding for it. The $5,000 in additional resources from the funding of this project almost triples the total resources available to the institution and when one considers the flexibility that the tutorial program will

7. Letter from Dean D. Allen to Dr. Jerome Miller, 10 February, 1972.

allow this venture is even more important. It is absurd to think that the total instructional budget provided through the Department of Youth Services is only $100 per year. Under the tutorial program, the amount of money available for materials alone will be $800 for the duration of the program which is approximately five months.

I feel that the Department of Youth Services should issue a letter of commendation to Bill Cook for the program that he has developed, the initiative that he has shown, and the effective way in which he is developing a program for the assistance of the students admitted to the Center under the most adverse of educational circumstances. The Department is, indeed, fortunate to have his services and should do everything possible to retain him or to replace him with a person of similar talents and orientation. The Department should also consider a substantial increase in the instructional budget, especially materials, and the provision of some regular resources for tutorial aides.

Again, it was a pleasure to have had the opportunity to visit the facility and to see that children who have had a difficult time in society, largely the product of broken homes and poverty situations, are being provided as imaginative a program as feasible and much more than could be expected under these trying circumstances.

Sincerely,

Dwight W. Allen
Dean

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